

THE
Indian Nation Builders

PART I

SECOND EDITION. PRICE RE. 1

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. To .

Our Common Mother

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE rapid sale of the first Edition of the "Indian Nation Builders," Vol. I., has enabled the publishers to bring out a second Edition of the same. The second Edition is a considerable enlargement upon the first, inas much as it contains more than a hundred pages of new matter. Five of the biographies have been entirely re-written and new speeches have been introduced in place of some of the old. It is hoped that these improvements will increase the usefulness of the book and commend themselves to the public.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

In presenting this volume, the publishers wish to say that it is the first of a series which they intend to bring out from time to time. So many are the persons who have taken part in the work of Nation-Building in India, and so many are the speeches in which they have contributed their share towards the formation of National Ideals, that the task of choosing the men and the speeches has been by no means easy. The publishers have been guided by no sense of gradation in the meritoriousness of the service rendered to the National Cause. The fixing of such an order of precedence is wisely left to the discriminating influence of historical judgment.

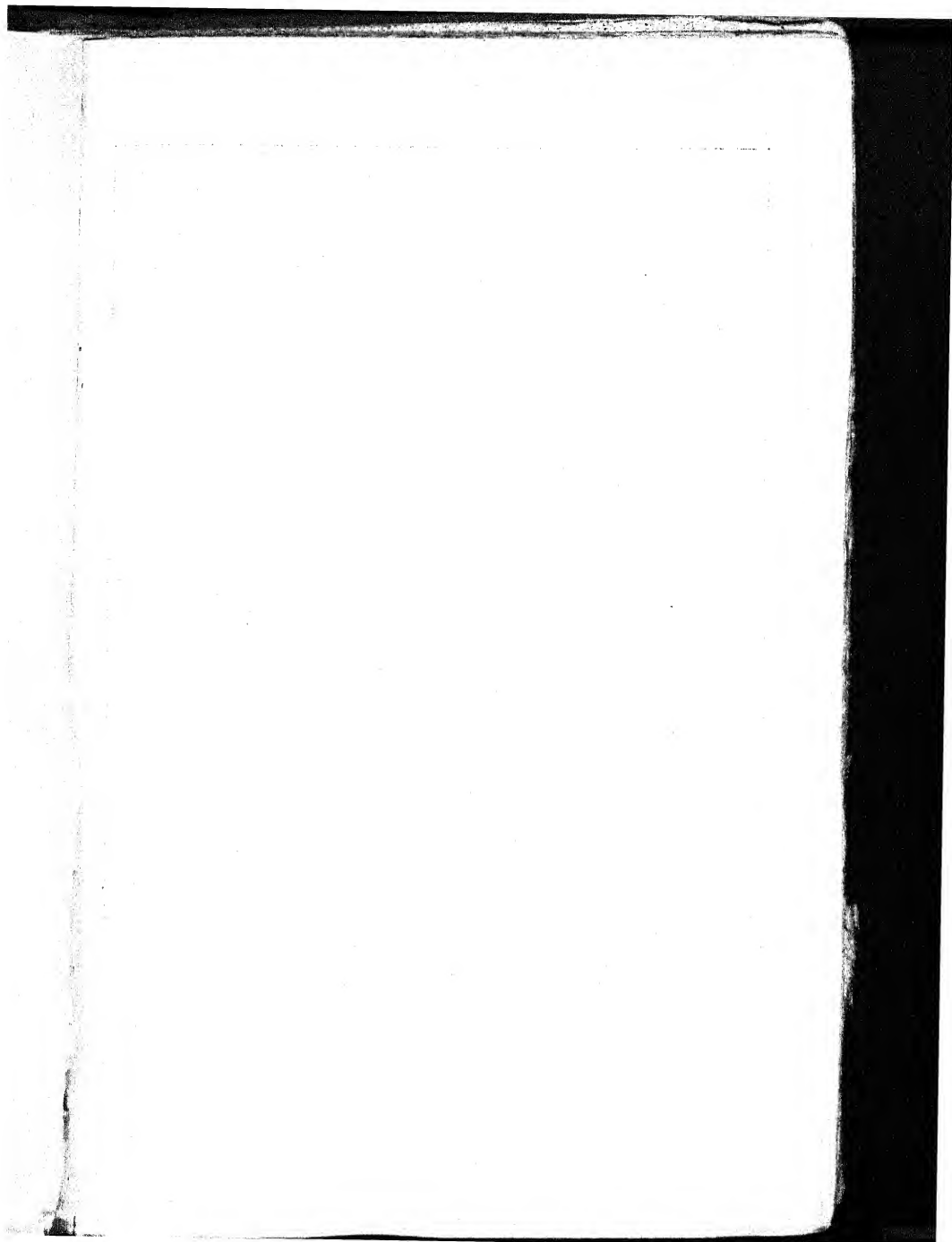
A contemporary publisher may be excused for being guided by the readiness with which the names of heroes leap out of the mouth of current opinion trusting to remedy the omissions which second thoughts reveal, in subsequent numbers of the projected series.

Indian Nationalism has been largely nourished by the utterances of Indian Patriots; and now that the National note is heard throughout the length and breadth of the land, the publication of these speeches on a popular scale will, it is hoped, conduce to the growth of a fervent and energetic National feeling.

Our thanks are due to those of our friends who have helped us in bringing out this book.

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JUSTICE RANADE.

MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE

FEW inferences are commoner in our day, or more commendable even to cultured judgments, than that a great reputation necessarily implies greatness of character and personality. A man has a great reputation. Ergo, he must be great. Do we want the services of a doctor? We straightway seek the man with the biggest reputation. Are we in need of a lawyer? Reputation, again, is our guide; and a writer of biographies has necessarily to be guided by reputation in the choice of his heroes. Notwithstanding this tendency in men, to be guided, even led by the nose, by the magnitude of a man's reputation, the question remains how far reputation is the index of true greatness. The well-known lines of Gray, beginning with "Full many a gem of purest ray serene," readily come to our mind. The view expressed by Gray in these lines, may very well be put down by a cynic, as those of a disappointed man. But it cannot be gainsaid that there are two such things as, factitious, manufactured reputations, and the vulgar judgment. A certain kind of odium has come to attach to popular judgment. "Oh! he is a demagogue," say certain people, with lofty contempt, of persons who happen to be the idols of the common people. Factitious reputations, again, tend to be in the ascendant in ages of commercialism such as our own age is said to be.

Whether or no, reputation and eminence always go together, there is no denying that a great reputation must have some substratum of truth upon which to rest. And

never was such substratum more solid and enduring than in the case of Mahadev Govind Ranade. For if there has been in recent times one Indian more than any other, whose character and achievements bear out his contemporary reputation, it must be Mr. Ranade. Mr. Ranade was renowned in his day, renowned as scholar, thinker, patriot, unselfish worker in the cause of his fellow men. And his memory has not passed away. It is blossoming in the dust. It was only the other day that the Governor of Bombay opened an Industrial Institute established to perpetuate his memory paying a generous tribute to Mr. Ranade's life-work.

There are at present, broadly speaking five different movements which exercise varying degrees of influence on the minds of the educated classes in India. There is the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement, deriving its inspiration from the lives and teachings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. There is the Brahmo Samaj, with its subdivisions, shaped and inspired by the lives of Ram Mohan Roy, Devendra Nath Tagore, and Keshub Chunder Sen. There is the Arya Samaj cherishing with reverent affection the life and teachings of Swami Dayananda Saraswati. There is the Theosophical Society, paying homage to Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. Besant. And, lastly, there is the Prarthana Samaj, of which Mr. Ranade was, perhaps, the most distinguished leader. Alike for its intrinsic worth and for its association with the Prarthana Samaj, Mr. Ranade's life deserves careful study.

Mahadev Govind Ranade was born on the 18th January, 1842. Very little is known of his ancestors. His great grandfather was a vakil of the Sangli State at Poona. His grandfather was a Mamlatdar in the Poona District and his father was Head Clerk to a Mamlatdar

of Niphad in the District of Nasik. Lord Rosebery, speaking of Robert Burns, said sometime back that poverty was the great nursing ground of genius. His Lordship seems to have forgotten Gray's line : "Nor Chill penury froze the genial current of their soul." The *London Times*, in criticising the speech, rightly remarked that both extreme poverty and immense wealth would be detrimental to genius. It is only the middle class that is favourable to the growth of great powers. Mr. Ranade was sprung, as we have already indicated, from a middle class Maharatta family.

He was first educated in a Vernacular School, and it was only in his eleventh year that he was sent to the Kolhapur High School, to receive an English education. From there he went to the Elphinstone Institution, now known as the Elphinstone College. The Institution was then presided over by Sir Alexander Grant, a greater scholar than whom the Indian Educational Service has never known. Sir Alexander Grant afterwards became the Principal of the University of Edinburgh. Some of his students highly distinguished themselves in later life, Mr. Telang and Sir P. M. Mehta among them. A scholar of Sir A. Grant's eminence must have been a veritable inspiration to his students. Speaking of the influence that the famous scholar exercised on him, Mr. Ranade said in after life, "Very few men have those facilities for acquiring knowledge at their command, as I had. Sir Alexander Grant was my teacher, and he was a great help to me in my pursuit after knowledge. The students of the present time are not fortunate enough to get such good teachers, and consequently they fall short of the mark." One incident in his College career is worth notice. The stirring memories of Maharatta ascendancy were fresh in the minds of the people in those days and Mr. Ranade,

with the ardour of a young patriot, wrote an essay instituting a comparison between Maharatta and British rule, much to the disadvantage of the latter. Sir Alexander Grant reprimanded him and suspended his scholarship for six months. In 1862, Mr. Ranade passed his B. A. taking a first class in English. In 1865, he went up for the M. A. Degree in History, passed, gained a gold medal and became a Fellow of the University of Bombay in the same year. In 1866, he passed the LL. B. Examination with honours.

He entered the Educational Department as Maharathi Translator soon after. Later, he took up the employment of Kharbhari in the Judicial Service of the Kolhapur State. He was next taken into the Elphinstone College as Professor of English Literature, where he was a decided success. But the prizes of law soon attracted him and for sometime he was a Law Reporter in the High Court of Bombay. He was subsequently appointed as a Subordinate Judge and thence rose to the High Court, through the intermediate stages of Presidency Magistrate, Judge of the Poona Small Cause Court and Special Judge under the "Agriculturists' Relief Act." Mr. Ranade, like Sir T. Muthuswami Aiyar in South India, climbed from a low rung in the official ladder to the highest,—a thing which is no longer possible. Before his elevation to the Bench, an incident happened in his life, which is worth recording. He was suspected by the Government to be a great seditionary, carrying on an extensive seditious correspondence. Certain letters came to Mr. Ranade, containing statements of seditious designs. Mr. Ranade placed each letter, as it came, before the Government, declaring that somebody was laying a trap for him. His character, needless to say, was thoroughly vindicated.

As a Judge, Mr. Ranade was a striking success. His judgments bore marks of considerable learning, and he heard every case with untiring patience. India has certainly produced greater jurists than Mr. Ranade. If he had concentrated his activities in one direction, he would, no doubt, have been as erudite a jurist as any. But his activities ran along many channels and it is on this account that his name commands the respect that it does. We now turn to a consideration of these many sided activities.

A word about the literary side of his activities. To the close of his life, Mr. Ranade was a student, student of all kinds of knowledge, ever eager to add fresh stores to the past. He dived deep into three literatures, into Maharathi, Sanskrit and English. His acquaintance with Maharathi could not fail to bear fruit. We have already alluded to the incident in his College career, showing his pride in the history of his own people. That love and pride ripened in after-days and he wrote a history of the Maharattas, a book which every educated Indian may be expected to have read. The book displays his many qualities of head and heart, to the full. Every Hindu, in general, and every Maharatta in particular, ought to be grateful to Mr. Ranade for his vindication of the great Sivaji, from the blackening calumnies of Anglo-Indian historians. It is a pity that Mr. Ranade did not live to complete his history, and that he was able to give to the world only one instalment of his projected plans, but even that one instalment is of surpassing value.

Mr. Ranade's favourite studies were Political Economy and History. As a fruit of his love for the 'dismal science' we have his "Essays on Indian Economics," dealing with several aspects of the economic problem of India.

In this work, he subjects several of the orthodox views to severe criticism, and protests against the assumption that some countries should be content with the business of producing raw materials for the manufacturing activities of others. He says that there is no reason why India should not be able to command the advantages of capital, organisation, and skilled labour, which other countries happen to enjoy, so as to be as great a manufacturing as an agricultural country. There are also essays dealing with the province of State action, and he is far from favouring the "*Laissez faire*" theory. The industrial advancement of India was very near Ranade's heart, and he unfurled the banner of Swadesi long before the movement of our day. Mr. Ranade does not seem to have realised the evils of the factory system as it obtains in the West, or at any rate does not emphasise them. The industrial problem of India is complex and many-sided, and it would be unreasonable to expect unanimity of views thereon. However, Mr. Ranade's book is well worth reading and in its bold dissent from several accepted views, will furnish food for reflection to many a student of Political Economy in our Colleges.

Not the least of what he did, was his work on the Bombay Senate. Early in life he became a fellow of the University and throughout his life took a deep interest in educational problems. He fought many a fight in the Senate in conjunction with Sir P. M. Mehta. His sagacity, sober wisdom, and temperate counsel turned the scale on many an occasion.

Mr. Ranade held the highest official position open to an Indian, and to be an official means to be debarred from political activities. There have been many amongst

us who talked and declaimed loudly when they were lawyers, but the moment they were made judges, they became new men and would not even be seen in the company of their former political comrades. With Mr. Ranade the case was different. His consuming sympathy and even close connection, with the Indian National Congress, from the day it was formed and during its days of suspicion and calumny, was well known. He was present at almost every meeting of the Congress and almost always was present in meetings of the Subjects Committee. Year after year the draft resolutions were submitted to him and his word was law. His counsel flowed like a healing stream over the stormy debates in the Subjects Committee—there were occasional storms even in those days,—and although not strictly a congressman, his influence on the movement was as great as that of any other man. His political ideal for India was, in his own words, "A Federated India distributed according to nationalities and subjected to a common bond of connection with the Imperial Power of the Queen Empress of India."

Perhaps, the largest claim of Mr. Ranade to the grateful remembrance of his countrymen lies in his work in connection with the Social Reform Movement. He was the friend, philosopher, and guide of the movement. He was its centre and focus. The ideas associated with social reform were no doubt older than Mr. Ranade, but it was he who gave shape and organisation to the forces working in that direction in different parts of India. He nursed the plant of social reform with the devotion of a mother to her child. It may almost be said that the Indian Social Conference was Mr. Ranade and *vice versa*. He was its secretary as long as he lived and year after year he delivered addresses on social questions, marked by

wide study, deep thought and burning ardour for the betterment of his countrymen. In these addresses he was constantly making out, that the social evils in this country were of recent growth, that they were unknown in India's most glorious days, that the reforms advocated had the sanction of the Shastras, and that the reform movement was but part of a wider movement, directed in its manifold aspects to the purification of national life in all spheres. The student of the history of social reform in Modern India cannot do better than digest these addresses. We shall take leave of this aspect of Ranade's career with the remark that though the cause of social reform was as near his heart as to that of anybody else, his tone and temper were far from aggressive. On one occasion he even went so far as to undergo "Prayaschitta" in deference to the prejudices of his less advanced compatriots, an act which provoked a storm of controversy and blackened him somewhat in the eyes of impetuous social reformers.

We referred at the outset of this sketch to Mr. Ranade's connection, with the Prarthana Samaj. In religious matters, Mr. Ranade called himself a theist and he even made a confession of his faith. Here again he claims that the theism he advocates is as old as India. In his view, God should be an abiding presence with us, permeating and penetrating all our actions. For a further exposition of his religious views, we refer the reader to his lecture on "Indian Theism" and the "Theist's Confession of Faith."

It is the bane of short sketches like the present, that they convey no living impression of the character and personality of the hero. They are at best but an inventory of a man's acts and qualities. Even so our portrayal of Mr. Ranade's life and career has necessarily been

meagre and mechanical. But we suppose we have said enough to show, that Mr. Ranade's activities were many-sided, that in many spheres of life,—judicial, religious, social, political, industrial, educational,—he has done yeoman service to his country and that he brought to bear upon his work qualities of head and heart which but few possess. His private life was so simple that he was called by his intimate friends a Rishi. An incident was once related at a public meeting, which throws a flood of light on his character. A certain person in Bombay, practising a very low occupation, had a grievance which he wanted to lay before the Bombay Municipal authorities. He had recourse to Mr. Ranade. He was introduced into his presence and Mr. Ranade asked him to take a seat, which, however, he stoutly refused to do. Mr. Ranade, however, pressed him and at last he sat on the floor and related his grievance. Ranade promised to help him and before he went to Court that day, saw a Municipal Commissioner, and asked him to look into the matter. The incident is small, but furnishes a luminous commentary on the character of the man.

Mr. Ranade was an ardent patriot. He loved India, her soil, history and traditions. He was proud of the past of India but not of her immediate past. He again and again declared that the history of India, showing as it does, the persistence and preservation of her people through untold vicissitudes, revealed that India was the chosen country and her people the elect of God.

Shortly before he died, he is said to have exclaimed "What a death to die in harness!", little suspecting that this coveted euthanasia would soon be granted to him. He passed away on the 16th January, 1901, mourned by all classes of his countrymen, and bequeathing to them memories which they would not willingly let die.

INDIA A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

[*Speech delivered by Mr. Mahadev Govind Ranade at the Indian Social Conference held at Lucknow in 1900.*]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—This time last year, I had occasion, at the inauguration of the Conference held at Madras, to speak on the subject of "*Southern India, a hundred years ago*"; to-day I find myself far away in the North, surrounded on all sides by the traditions of a civilization older than the oldest known to history, the land of the Aryan race settled in India, tracing its descent from the self-born Swayambu Manu, where the solar dynasty flourished for thousands of years, the land of the Ikshwakus, of Dilip and Raghu, of Dasharatha, and the incarnate hero Rama, with his illustrious brothers and the still more honored wife Sita; the land where Vasishta and Viswamitra lived and flourished, the home of all that is beautiful and true, and lovely and godlike in Aryan history. This favoured land of yours gave birth also in later times to Sakhyamuni Buddha, who has been well described as the perfection of humanity in its highest and noblest development, and whose "wheel of law" still regulates the thoughts and feelings of half the human race in its efforts to attain the attitude. The South and the North thus contrasted together, suggest recollections that are so over-powering, that I am tempted on this occasion when we meet to inaugurate the work of the Conference at Lucknow to dwell for a few moments on this subject, and I bespeak your thoughtful attention to the lessons

it suggests. Far in the South, which is now the stronghold of Brahminical ideas un influenced by outside contact, the Aryan civilisation no doubt made its way, but it continued to be an exotic civilisation confined to a small minority of Aryan settlers so few in numbers, that they were overwhelmed by the influences of the earlier Dravidian Dominion. It never made its home in those remote regions, and the common people continued their adhesion to their old worship and to their old faiths under new names. What the effects of this subordination were, was depicted in my address at Madras in the words of a foreign missionary, who lived and worked a hundred years ago, and who had exceptional opportunities of studying these effects. I propose this time to draw your attention to the turn which the Aryan civilisation has taken under the influences represented by the conquest of this part of the country by the Mahomedans, nearly a thousand years back. The one factor which separates Northern India from its Southern neighbours, is the predominant influence of this conquest by the Mahomedans which has left its mark permanently upon the country, by the actual conversion to the Mahomedan faith of one-fifth of the population, and by the imperceptible but permanent moulding of the rest of the people in the ways of thought and belief, the like of which is hard to find on the Malabar or Coromandal Coasts. I propose to draw my materials from the Mahomedan philosophers and travellers who visited India both before and after the Mahomedan conquest had changed the face of the country. Owing to the absence of the historic instinct among our people, we have necessarily to depend upon the testimony of foreign historians. That testimony is, however, unexceptionable because it was for the most part given before the

Mahomedan domination had effected, the separation which distinguishes the old India of the past from the modern India in which we are now living. This domination also separates the line which marks off Southern India, of which I spoke last year, from the North, in one of the most representative centres of which we are met here to-day. At the outset we must have a correct understanding of what Northern India was before Mahomed of Gazni made his numerous expeditions for the plunder of its far-famed cities and temples, at the commencement of the tenth century. Fortunately for us, we have a witness to this period of our history in the writings of Alberuni, whose work on India was written shortly after the time that Mahomed crossed the Indus as a conqueror of infidels. That work has been translated by Dr. Sachau, a professor in the Berlin University, and in its English form is now accessible to us all. Alberuni was a native of Khorasan, his birth place being near Khiva. Mahomed of Gazni conquered Khorasan and Alberuni had thus to shift to Gazni, which was then the seat of a flourishing empire, the rulers of which were great patrons of Mahomedan learning. Alberuni was in special favour with Masaud, the son of Mahomed, and he was thus enabled to travel throughout India, where he spent many years, having mastered the Sanskrit language. He was a philosopher by profession and temper and had a special liking for Indian Philosophy, which he studied with the same care and attention that he bestowed on Plato and Aristotle. His work on India consists of eighty chapters relating to Religion, Philosophy, Caste, Idolatry, Civil Polity, Literature, Science, Mathematics, Medicine, Geography, Astronomy, Cosmogony, Alchemy and Astrology.

He took great pains to give a full description of all that was known to the Hindus under these several heads.

and being naturally not a bigotted Mahomedan his book shows that he wrote his whole work with a single desire to promote the cause of true learning. While Alberuni shows a great regard for the Hindu Philosophy, Astronomy and Medicine, he was not slow in finding out the weak points of the Indian character. In his chapters on Caste and Idolatry, in the condemnation, he pronounces on the want of practical aptitudes in our people and in their devotion to superstitious observances, Alberuni did not spare his censures. He contrasted the democratic equality of the Mahomedan people with the innumerable divisions of the Indian races. He notices the helpless position of the women of India and the filthy customs and the habits of the people in those days. He gives praise to the few educated Brahmins whom he separates from the superstitious multitudes, whose fallen condition he deplores. Even among the Brahmins, he notices the verbosity of their writings and the wordsplitting which passed for wisdom. He notices the greediness and tyranny of the Hindu princes who would not agree to join their efforts together for any common purpose, and the timidity and the submissiveness of the people who, in his expressive language, were "scattered like atoms of dust in all directions," before the invading moslems. The prevailing feeling among the Mahomedans of the time was that the Hindus were infidels and entitled to no mercy or consideration, and the only choice to be allowed to them was that of death or conversion. Alberuni did not share in these views, but these were the views of his master Mahomed of Gazni and of the hordes who were led by him on these expeditions. Another traveller Ibenbatuta, a native of Tanjiers in North Africa, visited this country about a hundred years after Kutbudin established the Afghan kingdom at Delhi.

Like him he was taken into favour by the then Delhi emperor, Mahomed Taglak, under whom he acted for sometime as Judge of Delhi. Ibenbatuta travelled more extensively than Alberuni. He travelled from the extreme West of Africa to the extreme West of China, and went round the Coast from Malabar to Coromandal. He was, however, not a philosopher neither a scholar. His journal of travels is interesting, but he did not observe the manners and customs of the people with the same mastery of details that Alberuni's work shows on every page. The only points which struck Ibenbatuta in the course of his travels through India were the rite of sati of which he was a witness and the practice of drowning men in the Ganges both of which struck him as inhuman to a degree he could not account for. He also notices the self-mortification of the jogees and their juggleries, in describing which last he mentions the fact that in the presence of the emperor he saw a jogee raise his body up in the air, and keep it there for sometime. Another traveller Abdur Razzak visited India about 1450 A.D. His travels lay chiefly in the Southern Peninsula, Calicut, Vizianagar and Mangalore. The narratives of two other travellers, one a Russian and the other a Venetian, who both visited India in the fifteenth century, are published by the Hakluyt Society, which afford most interesting reading. The general impression left on the minds of these travellers was a respect for the Brahmins for their philosophy and attainments in astrology, but for the common people, the vast multitudes of men and women, their sense was one of disgust and disappointment. Abdur Razzak expressed this feeling in his own words in a reply to the invitation of the king of Vizianagar.

He said to the king: "If I have once escaped from the desert of thy love and reached my country, I shall

not set out on another voyage even in the company of a king." In Southern India, these travellers found that both men and women, besides being black, were almost nude, and divided into innumerable castes and sects which worshipped their own idols. This abuse of idolatry and caste struck every traveller as the peculiar characteristic of the country, and gave them offence. The practice of self-immolation or sati and of human sacrifices to idols by being crushed over by the temple car are also mentioned. Finally, we have the testimony of the emperor Babar who in his memoirs thus describes this country :—"Hindusthan is a country which has few things to recommend. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society or of freely mixing together in familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manners, no kindness or fellow feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning and executing their handicraft work, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture. They have no good horses, no good flesh, no good grapes or musk melons, no good fruits, no cold water or ice, no good food or bread in their bazaars, no baths, no colleges, no candles, not even a candlestick. They have no aqueducts or canals, no gardens and no palaces; in their buildings they study neither elegance nor climate nor appearance nor regularity. Their peasants and lower classes all go about naked tying on only a *langoti*. The women, too, have only a *lang*." The only good points which Babar could find in favour of Hindus than were that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver, and there is also an abundance of workmen of every profession and trade for any work and employment.

Such was the picture presented to the Mahomedans when they entered India through the passes in successive hordes for three or four centuries. A great portion of the disgust and disappointment felt by these Mahomedan invaders may be set down to ignorance and the pride of race. At the same time, it is always of advantage to know exactly, how India appeared in its strong and weak points to intelligent foreigners such as those we have mentioned above. The question for consideration to us at the present moment is, whether in consequence of the predominance of the Mahomedans for five centuries which intervened from the invasions of Mahomed to the ascendancy of Akbar, the people of India were benefited by the contact thus forcibly brought together between the two races. There are those among us who think that this predominance has led to the decay and corruption of the Indian character, and that the whole story of the Mahomedan ascendancy should for all practical purposes, be regarded as a period of humiliation and sorrow. Such a view, however, appears to be unsupported by any correct appreciation of the forces which work for the elevation or depression of nations. It cannot be easily assumed that in God's Providence such vast multitudes as those who inhabit India were placed centuries together under influences and restraints of alien domination, unless such influences and restraints were calculated to do lasting service in the building up of the strength and character of the people in directions in which the Indian races were most deficient. Of one thing we are certain, that after lasting over 500 years, the Mahomedan empire gave way and made room for the re-establishment of the old native races in Punjab, and throughout Central Hindustan and Southern India on foundations of a much more solid character than those which yielded so easily

before the assaults of early Mahomedan conquerors. The domination therefore had not the effect of so depressing the people that they were unable to raise their heads again in greater solidarity. If the Indian races had not benefited by the contact and example of men with stronger muscles and greater powers, they would have never been able to re-assert themselves in the way in which History bears testimony they did.

Quite independently of this evidence of the broad change that took place in the early part of the eighteenth century when the Mugal empire went to pieces, and its place was taken up not by foreign settlers, but by revived native powers, we have more convincing grounds to show that in a hundred ways the India of the eighteenth century, so far as the native races were concerned, was a stronger and better constituted India than met the eyes of the foreign travellers from Asia and Europe who visited it between the period of the first five centuries from 1,000 to 1500. In Akbar's time this process of regenerate India first assumed a decided character which could not be well mistaken. No student of Akbar's reign will fail to notice that for the first time the conception was then realised of a united India in which Hindus and Mahomedans, such of them as had become permanently established in the country, were to take part in the building of an edifice routed in the hearts of both by common interest and common ambitions in place of the scorn and contempt with which the Mahomedan invaders had regarded the religion of the Hindus, their forms of worship, their manners and customs, and the Hindus looked down upon them as barbarous Mlechas, whose touch was pollution, a better appreciation of the good points in the character of both came to be recognised as the basis of the union. Akbar was

the first to see and realise the true nobility of soul and the devotion and fidelity of the Hindu character, and satisfied himself that no union was possible as long as the old bigotry and fanaticism was allowed to guide the councils of the empire. He soon gathered about him the best men of his time, men like Faizi, Abdul Fazul and their father Mubarak, the historians, Mirsa Abdul Rahim, Naizamuddin Ahmad, Badauni and others. These were set to work upon the translation of the Hindu epics and Shastras and books of Science and Philosophy. The pride of the Rajput races was conciliated by taking in marriage the princesses of Jaipur and Jodhpur, and by conferring equal or superior commands on these princess. These latter had been hitherto treated as enemies. They were now welcomed as the props of the empire, and Maharaja Bagavandas, his great nephew Mansingh for sometime governor of Bengal and Kabul, Raja Thodar Mal and the Brahmin companion of the emperor Raja Birbal, these were welcomed to court and trusted in the full consciousness that their interests were the same as those of the Musalmen noblemen. The emperor himself guided by such counsel of his Hindu and Mahomedan nobles became the real founder of the union between the two races and his policy for a hundred years guided and swayed the councils of the empire. A fusion of the two races was sought to be made firmer still by the establishment of a religion of the *Din-i-ilahi* in which the best points both of the Mahomedan, Hindu, and other faiths were sought to be incorporated. Invidious taxation and privileges were done away with, and toleration for all faiths became the universal law of the empire. To conciliate his subjects, Akbar abjured the use of flesh except on four special occasions in the year, and he joined in the religious rites observed by his Hindu queens. In regard to the

particular customs of the people relating to points where natural humanity was shocked in a way to make union impossible, Akbar strove by wise encouragement and stern control where necessary, to help the growth of better ideas. Sati was virtually abolished by being placed under restraints which no body could find fault with. Remarriage was encouraged, and marriage before puberty was prohibited. In these and a hundred other ways, the fusion of the races and of their many faiths was sought to be accomplished with a success which was justified by the results for a hundred years. This process of removing all causes of friction and establishing accord went on without interruption during the reigns of Akbar, Jehangir and Shahjahan. Shahjahan's eldest son, Dara Sheko, was himself an author of no mean repute. He translated the Upanishads, and wrote a work in which he sought to reconcile the Brahmin religion with the Mahomedan faith. He died in 1659. This period of a hundred years may be regarded as the halcyon period of Indian history when the Hindu and Mahomedan races acted in full accord. If in place of Aurangzeb, Dara Sheko had succeeded to power as the eldest son of Shahjahan, the influences set on foot by the genius of Akbar would have gathered strength and possibly averted the collapse of the Mogul power for another century. This was, however, not to be so, and with Aurangzeb's ascent to the throne, a change of system commenced which gathered force during the long time that this emperor reigned. Even Aurangzeb had, however, to follow the traditions of his three predecessors. He could not dispense with Jai Sing or Jaswant Sing who were his principal military commanders. In the reign of his son, the whole provinces under him were governed by Rajput Kayastha and other governors. The revival of fanatic

bigotry was kept in check by the presence of these great Rajput chiefs, one of whom, on the re-imposition of the Zezia, addressed to the emperor a protest couched in unmistakable terms that the God of Islam was also the God of the Hindus, and the subject of both races merited equal treatment. Aurangzeb unfortunately did not listen to this advice, and the result was that the empire built by Akbar went to pieces even when Aurangzeb was alive. No one was more aware of his failure than Aurangzeb himself who, in his last moments, admitted that his whole life was a mistake. The Marathas in the South, the Sikhs in the North, and the Rajput States helped in the dismemberment of the empire in the reigns of his immediate successors with the result that nearly the whole of India was restored to its native Hindu sovereigns except Bengal, Oudh, and the Deccan Hyderabad. It will be seen from this that so far from suffering from decay and corruption, the native races gathered strength by reason of the Mahomedan rule when it was directed by the wise counsel of those Mahomedan and Hindu statesmen who sought the wheel of the country by a policy of toleration and equality. Since the time of Asoka, the element of strength born of union was wanting in the old Hindu dynasties which succumbed so easily to the Mahomedan invaders.

Besides this source of strength there can be no doubt that in a hundred other ways the Mahomedan domination helped to refine the tastes and manners of the Hindus. The art of Government was better understood by the Mahomedans than by the old Hindu sovereigns. The art was also singularly defective till the Mahomedans came. They brought in the use of gunpowder and artillery, in the words of Babar they "taught ingenuity and mechanical invention in a number of handy craft arts" the very

nomenclature of which being made up of non-Hindus words, shows their foreign origin. They introduced candles, paper, glass and household furniture and saddlery. They improved the knowledge of the people in music, instrumental and vocal, medicine and astronomy and their example was followed by the Hindus in the perversions of both these sciences; astrology and alchemy, geography and history were first made possible departments of knowledge and literature by their example. They made roads, aqueducts, canals, caravansaries, and the post office, and introduced the best specimens of architecture, and improved our gardening and made us acquainted with a taste of new fruits and flowers. The revenue system, as inaugurated by Thodar Mal in Akbar's time, is the basis of the revenue system up to the present day. They carried on the entire commerce by sea with distant regions, and made India feel that it was a portion of the inhabited world with relations with all and not cut off from all social intercourse. In all these respects, the civilization of the united Hindu and Moslem powers represented by the Moguls at Delhi, was a distinct advance beyond what was possible before the tenth century of the Christian era.

More lasting benefits have, however, accrued by this contact in the higher tone it has given to the religion and thoughts of the people. In this respect both the Mahomedans and Hindus benefited by contact with one another. As regards the Mahomedans, their own historians admit that the sufiheresy gathered strength from contact with the Hindu teachers, and made many Mahomedans believe in transmigration and in the final union of the soul with the Supreme spirit. The Moharam festival and Saint worship are the best evidence of the way in which the Mahomedans were influenced by Hindu

ideas. We are more directly concerned with the way in which this contact has affected the Hindus. The prevailing tone of Pantheism had established a toleration for polytheism among our most revered ancient teachers who rested content with separating the few from the many, and established no bridge between them. This separation of the old religion has prevented its higher precepts from becoming the common possession of whole races. Under the purely Hindu system, the intellect may admit, but the heart declines to allow a common platform to all people in the sight of God. The Vaishnava movement, however, has succeeded in establishing the bridge noted above, and there can be no doubt that in the hands of the followers of Ramananda, especially the Kabir Panthis, Malikdasis, Dadu Panthis, the followers of Mirabai, of Lord Gauranga, on the Bengal side, and Baha Nanak in Punjab in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the followers of Tukaram, Ekanath and Namdev, in the Deccan, Baba Lalis, Pranathis, Sadhs, the Satnamis, the Shivanarayans and the followers of Mahant Ramacharan of the last two centuries—this elevation and the purification of the Hindu mind was accomplished to an extent which very few at the present moment realise in all its significance. The Brahmo and the Arya Samaj movements of this century are the continuations of this ethical and spiritual growth. Caste, idolatry, polytheism and gross conceptions of purity and pollution were the precise points in which the Mahomedans and the Hindus were most opposed to one another, and all the sects named above had this general characteristic that they were opposed to these defects in the character of our people. Nanak's watchword was that he was neither Hindu nor Mahomedan, but that he was a worshipper of the Niarkar or

the formless. His first companion was a Mahomedan and his teacher is said to have been also a Mahomedan. Lord Guaranga had also Mahomedan disciples. Mahomedan saints like Shaik Mahomed, Shaik Farid, and Mahomed Kazi were respected both by Hindus and Mahomedans. The abuses of Polytheism were checked by the devotion to one object of worship which in the case of many of these Vaishnava sects was supreme God, the Paramathma and the abuses of caste were controlled by conceding to all Hindus and Mahomedans alike the right to worship and love of one god who was the god of all. In the case of the Sikhs the Puritanic spirit even developed under persecution, into a coarse imitation of the Mahomedan fanaticism directed against the Mahomedans themselves, but in the case of the other sectaries, both old and new, tolerant and the suffering spirit of Vaishnavism has prevailed, breathing peace and goodwill towards all.

Such are the chief features of the influences resulting from the contact of Mahomedans and Hindus in Northern India. They brought about a fusion of thoughts and ideas which benefited both communities, making the Mahomedans less bigoted and the Hindus more puritanic and more single-minded in their devotion. There was nothing like this to be found in Southern India as described by Dubois where the Hindu sectarian spirit intensified caste, pride and idolatrous observances. The fusion would have been more complete but for the revival of fanaticism for which Aurangzeb must be held chiefly responsible. Owing to this circumstance, the work of fusion was left incomplete; and in the course of years, both the communities have developed weaknesses of a character which still need the disciplining process

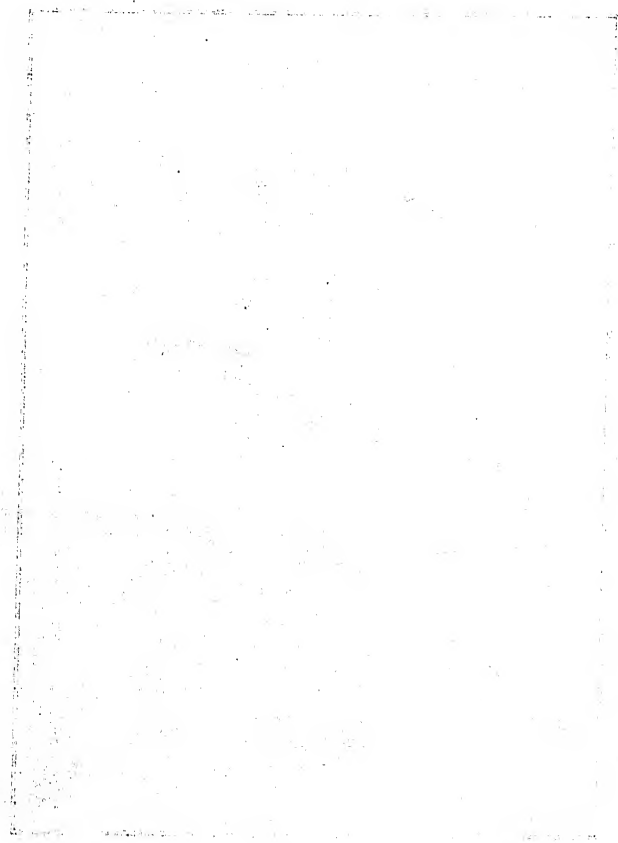
to be continued for a longer time under other masters. Both Hindus and Mohomedans lack many of those virtues represented by the love of order and regulated authority. Both are wanting in the love of municipal freedom, in the exercise of virtues necessary for civic life and in aptitude for mechanical skill in the love of science and research, in the love and daring and adventurous discovery, the resolution to master difficulties and in chivalrous respect for womankind. Neither the old Hindu nor the old Mahomedan civilization was in a condition to rain these virtues in a way to bring up the races of India on a level with those of Western Europe, and so the work of education had to be renewed, and it has been now going on for the past century and more under the Pax Britanica with results which all of us are witnesses to in ourselves.

If the lessons of the past have any value, one thing is quite clear viz., that in this vast country no progress is possible unless both Hindus and Mahomedans join hands together and are determined to follow the lead of the men who flourished in Akbar's time and were his chief advisers and councillors and sedulously avoid the mistakes which were committed by his great grandson Aurangzeb. Joint action from a sense of common interest and a common desire to bring about the fusion of the thoughts and feelings of men so as to tolerate small differences and bring about concord, these were the chief aims kept in view by Akbar and formed the principle of the new divine faith formulated in the Din-i-ilahi. Every effort on the part of either Hindus or Mahomedans to regard their interests as separated and distinct and every attempt made by the two communities to create separate schools and interests among themselves, and not to heal up the wounds inflicted by mutual

hatred of caste and creed, must be deprecated on all hands. It is to be feared that this lesson has not been sufficiently kept in mind by the leaders of both communities in their struggle for existence and in the acquisition of power and predominance during recent years. There is at times a great danger of the work of Akbar being undone by losing sight of this great lesson which the history of his reign and that of his two successors is so well calculated to teach. The conference which brings us together is especially intended for the propagation of this "Din" or "Dharma," and it is in connection with that message chiefly that I have ventured to speak to you to-day on this important subject. The ills that we are suffering from are most of them self-inflicted evils, the cure of which is to a large extent in our own hands. Looking at the series of measures which Akbar adopted in his time to cure these evils, one feels how correct was his vision when he and his advisers put their hands on those very defect in our national character which need to be remedied first before we venture on higher enterprises. Pursuit of high ideas, mutual sympathy and co-operation, perfect tolerance, a correct understanding of the diseases from which the body politic is suffering, and an earnest desire to apply suitable remedies this is the work cut out, for the present generation. The awakening has commenced as is witnessed by the fact that we are met in this place from such distances for joint consultation and action. All that is needed is that we must put our hands to the plough and face the strife and the struggle. The success already achieved warrants to expectation that, if we persevere on right lines, the goal we have in view may be attained. That goal is not any particular advantage to be gained in power and wealth. It is represented

by the efforts to attain it, the expansion and the evolution of the heart and the mind which all make us stronger and braver, purer and truer men. This is at least the lesson I draw from our more recent history of the past thousand years, and if those centuries have rolled away to no purpose over our heads, our cause is no doubt hopeless beyond cure. That is, however, not the faith in me; and I feel sure it is not the faith that moves you in this great struggle against our own weak selves than which nothing is more fatal to our individual and collective growth. Both Hindus and Mahomedans have their work cut out in this struggle. In the backwardness of female education, in the disposition to overleap the bounds of their own religion, in matters of temperance in their internal dissensions between castes and creeds in the indulgence of impure speech, thought, and action on occasions when they are disposed to enjoy themselves, in the abuses of many customs in regard to unequal and polygamous marriages, in the desire to be extravagant in their expenditure on such occasions, in the neglect of regulated charity, in the decay of public spirit, in insisting on the proper management of endowments in these and other matters, both communities are equal sinners and there is thus much ground for improvement on common lines. Of course, the Hindus being by far the majority of the population, have other difficulties of their own to combat with; and they are trying in their gatherings of separate castes and communities, to remedy them each in their own way. But without co-operation and conjoint action of all communities, success is not possible, and it is on that account that the general conference is held in different places each year to rouse local interest, and help people, in their separate efforts by a knowledge of what their friends similarly situated are doing in other parts.

This is the reason of our meeting here and I trust that this message I have attempted to deliver to you on this occasion will satisfy you that we cannot conceive a nobler work than the one for which we have met here to-day.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



ANANDA MOHAN BOSE.

ANANDA MOHAN BOSE

Among the many great men that Modern India owes to Bengal, the name of Ananda Mohan Bose occupies no mean place. Whether as scholar, combining in himself the culture of East and West, or orator, the charm of whose speeches captivated both hearer and reader, or patriot, with whom the love of country was no empty shibboleth adorning a glowing peroration, but a deep and abiding passion, or man, in whose soul spirituality burned like a consuming flame, Ananda Mohan draws our heart-felt homage. The lives of such men are a treasure of the nation and ought to be cherished as such. It was no wonder that when Ananda Mohan Bose passed from mortal life, Sister Nivedita exclaimed that the first citizen of Bengal had fallen. Few, indeed, must be those who cannot feel purified, elevated, and enlarged, by the contemplation of a career like Ananda Mohan's.

Ananda Mohan Bose was born in the year 1846, in the district of Mymensing, since famous in the history of repression, in East Bengal. He was eleven years old, when the Sepoy Mutiny was enacting. Little, however, is known of his childhood, for which the feebleness of our patriotism is, we think, much to blame. But, early in life, he gave signs of brilliant promise. He secured the first place in the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in 1862. His University career, as student of the Presidency College, Calcutta, was most distinguished. In the

F. A. and B. A. examinations, he topped the list of successful candidates. He went up for the M. A. in Mathematics and came out first. These successes won him encomiums, in high quarters, notably from Sir Henry Sumner Maine, then Vice-Chancellor of the University. He also won the crowning reward of the Roychand Premchand Scholarship worth Rs. 10,000. For sometime, he acted as Professor of Mathematics in the Engineering College, but he wanted to go to England and so gave it up. Being of a strongly religious turn of mind from youth, he came under the influence of Keshub Chunder Sen, who was then exercising immense influence over the educated youth of Bengal. Ananda Mohan was initiated into Brahmoism in 1869, and proceeded to England in 1870, in the same steamer with Keshub. He entered Christ's College, Cambridge, and devoted himself to the study of Mathematics with rare assiduity. He was also a member of the Cambridge Union and by dint of his eloquence rose to be its President, a very high honour. After the necessary course of three years, he came out successful in the Mathematical Tripos, taking a high rank among the Wranglers. The impression is that he would have been Senior Wrangler but for his ill-health. While in England, Mr. Bose was once deputed by Prof. Fawcett to conduct a meeting on his behalf. Such was the ability that Mr. Bose displayed in the task, that Mr. Fawcett declared afterwards that Mr. Bose would in time carve for himself a position similar to that of Mr. Gladstone in England. Mr. Bose qualified himself for the Bar and returned to India in 1874.

Needless to say, Mr. Bose was an immediate success at the Bar, though he devoted himself more to mofussil practice than to the High Court. In a criminal

case he acquitted himself so well that a prominent barrister of Calcutta, Mr. Bell, said that Mr. Bose's defence in the case was the most splendid he had heard out of Westminster Hall. Mr. Bose invested the greater part of his income in the Assam Tea Industry and for some reason or other, soon after practically retired from the profession. His energies were being absorbed by several other pursuits, religious, educational and political. He may have felt that his soul was out of element in the legal profession. He was an intensely religious man and the legal profession has many pitfalls for the soul. Whatever the reason may have been, his abdication of the profession shows that Mammon had no very strong attractions for him. If Mr. Bose had gone heart and soul into law, there can be no two opinions that he would have become one of the foremost lawyers in the country.

Not the least of Mr. Bose's claims to the gratitude of his countrymen is the work he did in education. He took a deep interest in educational problems and in 1877, was appointed a fellow of the University and two years later a Syndic. He brought forward many proposals to reform and improve the University with a view to making it more and more a teaching body. He founded a High School at Calcutta, called the City School, in 1880. The school began humbly but it soon grew rapidly till it was made a College, equipped on advanced lines. To-day the prestige of the City College, Calcutta, is perhaps as high as that of any other educational institution in the metropolis of India.

Mr. Bose was by no means indifferent to the claims of female education. He founded a school for the education of girls, called the 'Banga Mahila Vidyalaya.' It developed rapidly and was subsequently amalgamated with the Bethune College, a Government Institution for

the higher education of women. Mr. Bose's reputation as an educationist had meanwhile grown so high that Lord Ripon offered him, it is said, the Presidentship of the Education Commission appointed in the year 1882. But Mr. Bose, with an unselfishness as rare as it was noble, declined the unique honour on the ground that his being an Indian would seriously detract from the value of the Commission's recommendations. He was, however, one of its members and must have contributed invaluable to its work. In recognition of his educational services, the University of Calcutta elected him their representative on the Bengal Legislative Council in 1895.

We now turn to consider Mr. Bose's contribution to the political life of his generation. He founded the Indian Association of Calcutta, with Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea and others. He was nominated a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1886 and was elected by the University in 1895. During his terms of service, he covered himself with renown by his fearless advocacy of right, on more than one occasion. When the Indian National Congress was ushered into existence in 1885, he hailed it with silent satisfaction. Serious ill-health prevented his attending each Congress, but his sympathy with the movement was none the less deep and ardent. Whenever the Congress met at Calcutta he attended and took a prominent part in its deliberations. We are here tempted to quote the peroration of the speech which he delivered at the twelfth Congress in moving a resolution on the Re-organisation of the Educational Service in India, as it is an excellent specimen of his oratorical style. Mr. Bose said in concluding:—

"Gentlemen, I believe in the intellect of India. I believe that the fire that burned so bright centuries ago has not died out. I believe there are sparks, aye, more

than sparks, that still exist and only require the gentle breeze of sympathetic help, judicious organisation and kindly care to burst forth once again into that glorious fire which in the past illumined not only this great continent but shed its lustre over other lands—into that intellectual life, which achieved wonders in the field of literature and arts, in the field of mathematics and philosophy, which produced works which are even now the admiration and wonder of the world. Fight with redoubled vigour in that cause and then we may depend upon it that by the Providence of God, righteousness and justice shall triumph and this attempt to fix on the brows of the people of this ancient land, a new stigma and a new disability shall fail as it deserves to fail.”

His health broke down towards the end of 1897 and on medical advice he proceeded to Germany to try its waters. After sometime, he recovered his health and went to England. In England he pleaded the cause of India at meeting after meeting. He did not spare himself. At one meeting, he spoke with particular intensity and warmth and at its close, felt, as if something broke within him. It was the beginning of the end. Thereafter he was practically a bed-ridden invalid. He returned to India. The reward soon came, the reward of his brilliant gifts, of his consuming patriotism, of his unselfish labours, of his high spotless character. He was elected the President of the Indian National Congress, held at Madras, in 1888. His health had, indeed, been shattered but he gladly responded to the call of duty. His Presidential speech will be ranked with the finest masterpieces of congress oratory. It must be read in full to be justly appreciated. The introduction to the Congress Report of the year thus remarks on the speech :—

"The effect of his marvellous performance on the audience cannot be adequately described here. Whether as an oratorical effort or as a survey of the political situation of the country at the moment, it stands unsurpassed even among the high class performances of his predecessors. His reputation as a scholar and a citizen, his arduous and successful labour in England just previous to his choice as President, his simple manners and engaging appearance, his musical voice and the grace of his delivery combined to create a sympathetic bias in the audience and the impression of his masterly performance from the President's Chair will be remembered long by those that witnessed it." When the august speaker began his peroration entitled, "God and the Motherland" he almost choked with feeling and a wave of emotion swept over the vast audience, bringing the tear to every eye. Brilliant as was the Presidential speech, Mr. Bose rose to even greater heights in his reply to the vote of thanks. The whole speech was extempore, but it thrilled the audience through and through. His congress labours exhausted him and completed the ruin of his health. Henceforth, he was chained to his bed, as he himself has said, and did not appear in public except on one memorable occasion. Bengal was, indeed, sundered by the fiat of official will, but the people determined, as is well known, to remain one, and indivisible, and to raise a Federation Hall as a visible symbol of their union. Mr. Bose, from his bed of illness, which proved shortly to be the bed of death, received the call of United Bengal to come out and lay the foundation-stone of the Hall which was to attest to future generations the triumph of the people over official will. Mr. Bose responded to the call. He was carried in a litter to the scene. The speech, which

he had written out, was read by Mr. Surendranath Banerjee. The speech made plain that acute illness had not chilled the wonted fire. For pure spiritual feeling, for chastened stirring eloquence, for intense vivifying power, the speech stands alone, almost unrivalled, in Indian political literature. It pierces to the heart like an arrow. It was his will and testament to his people, his parting message, his glorious swan-song. He was not much longer destined for earth.

Before, however, we proceed to the sorrowful task of letting down the curtain on his life, we shall briefly indicate his religious activities. Early in life, he became a Brahmo and worked for its cause heart and soul. Everybody has heard of the schism that took place in the ranks of the Brahmo Samaj when Keshub Chunder Sen married his five-year-old daughter to the son of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. Mr. Bose separated from Keshub and along with other prominent Brahmos founded the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and watched over it tenderly. With Mr. Bose, life and religion were convertible terms. Spirituality in him was a devouring fire. It penetrated and permeated all his actions. Even his political speeches are set in a spiritual key. Mr. Bose felt, felt deeply, intensely, passionately, and the feeling coloured all he said or did. How far this intensity of feeling, of high-strung emotion, was responsible for the breakdown of his health, it is not possible to say.

The end soon came. The year 1906, which saw the death of W.C. Bonnerjee and Budruddin Tyabjee, counted Ananda Mohun amongst its victims. An immense procession of all classes followed the last remains of the hero to the burning ghat. And thus, he passed away, But the memory of his enchanting eloquence, his burning love of country, his gifts of head and heart, his humility.

gentleness and serenity, the whiteness, spotless purity, of his life, outlived him and will long be enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen. He was a man of whom India may justly be proud. We cannot do better than conclude this imperfect sketch, than by quoting the following appreciation of Ananda Mohan Bose, taken from the address of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress in December, 1906 :—

“In the death of Ananda Mohan Bose, every one felt as if he had lost a personal friend; for he was of an eminently winning disposition, distinguished not less by his amiability than by the purity of his life. To deep spiritual fervour, he joined a lofty patriotism, working as ever in the great “Task Master’s eye.” Indeed, in Ananda Mohan Bose, patriotism grew to the height of a religion. And it was this happy union of the religious and civic elements in his character that sustained him, when with life fast ebbing away and with the valley of the shadow of death almost in sight he poured out his soul in that memorable Swan-song of the 16th of October, 1905.

* * * *

His death stirred Calcutta to its depths; and, in that vast throng which followed the bier in long and solemn procession, every eye was wet with tears, every face was clouded with the shadow of a deep and passionate sorrow.”

A NATIONAL AWAKENING

[Speech delivered by Mr. A. M. Bose on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Federation Hall, at Calcutta.]

My beloved friends, Mahomedan and Hindu fellow-citizens of one and indivisible Bengal,—A Rishi of old blessed the gods that he had lived to see the day when the divine sage of Kapilavasthu was ushered into the world. I am not a Rishi, nor worthy to touch the feet of one, but yet I bless our Father in Heaven, who is the common father and judge of the Englishmen and the Indian alike, that I have lived to see this day, which marks, I think I may say, the birth of a nation. I come amongst you as one almost risen from the dead to see this moment of a national upheaval and of national awakening. Drawn from my sick-bed, where I have been secluded from the world by serious illness for nearly a year, allow me to express my grateful thanks to you for the great and the signal privilege you have conferred on me by associating me with yourselves on this great and historic occasion, which will live in the annals of Bengal, and mark an epoch in its history. I see around me after a long time the faces of many dear friends and comrades, who have been in the front of the fight. I salute them, and I salute you all on this day solemn of recollections and solemn resolves.

It is, indeed, a day of mourning to us when the province has been sundered by official fiat, and the glad-some spirit of union and of community of interest which had been growing stronger day by day, runs the danger of being wrecked and destroyed, and many other evils

into which this is not the occasion to enter are likely to follow in its wake. And yet in the dispensation of Providence not unoften out of evil cometh good; and the dark and threatening cloud before us is so fringed with beauteous gold and brightening beams, and so fraught with the prospect of a newer and a stronger national union, that we may look upon it almost as a day of rejoicing. Yes, as our glorious poet has sung in one of his many noble and inspiring utterances, "Mora Gangrie Ban Ashe-ch-e," the dead, currentless, and swampy river has felt the full force and fury of the flood, and is swelling in its depths. Have we not all heard the booming of that national call, and its solemn summons to our hearts? Let our souls mount forth in gladness to the throne of the Most High at this sacred fatal hour of the new and united Bengali nation: let us bear in mind, as a writer in the *Patrika* has said, that from dark clouds descend life-giving showers, and from parted furrows spring up the life-sustaining golden grain, that in bitter, biting winter is laid the germ of the glorious spring. I belong to the sundered Province of East Bengal, and yet, my brethren, never did my heart cling more dearly to you, or your hearts cherish us more lovingly than at the present moment, and for all the future that lies before us. The "official" separation has drawn us indeed far closer together and made us stronger in united brotherhood. Hindu, Mussalman, and Christian, North, East and West, with the resounding sea beneath—all belong to one indivisible Bengal; say again, my friends, from the depth of your hearts, to one indivisible Bengal: the common, the beloved, the ever-cherished Motherland of us all. In spite of every other separation of creed, this creed of the common Motherland will bring us nearer, heart to heart, and brother to brother.

but to side and sympathise with us in this struggle for the simple assertion on our part of human rights, appeal to them that they may be true to their noblest ideals, which have made their annals and proceedings famous and immortal in history, and grant us a little of the liberty and freedom which they have themselves enjoyed in such abundant and bounteous measure.

One has heard of different orders in this country for religious and philanthropic service, of vows of self-sacrificing devotion carried to life's last day. Enter you, my friends, into what I might call the order of the Motherland, or of Bangabhumi; and with characters unstained, aims that are placed high, and spirits that are pure and noble and absolutely self-forgetful; serve the land and suffer for the land of your birth. Hindus and Mussulmen, let us in the name of God all unite in this sacred crusade for the welfare and prosperity of our common mother. We have come, most of us, bare-foot and in garbs of mourning, to the site of our future shrine. Silent are the busy marts of men, and silent is the roar of trade. Throughout the town and its suburbs all shops—Hindu, Mussulman, and Marwari—are closing; all shops, in fact, except the small fraction owned by Englishmen. We all present in our tens of thousands here and millions throughout the provinces, I believe, are fasting to-day and no fires shall be kindled in our hearths. But let that fire burn in our hearts, purify us, and kindle an enthusiasm which shall be all the brighter and all the warmer for the quenched fire in our homes.

And now, farewell my friends with these, which may, perchance, be the last words which I shall utter to you on this side of Eternity. Farewell on this day of fraternal union, when the bond of Rakhi is tied in our arms.

Much that comes pouring into my heart must remain unsaid. Ours is not the land of the rising sun, for to Japan, victorious, self-sacrificing, and magnanimous, belongs that title: but may I not say that ours is the land where the sun is rising again, where after ages of darkness and gloom, with the help (let me gratefully acknowledge) of England and English culture, the glowing light is bursting once again, over the face of the land. Let us all pray that the grace of God may bless our course, direct our steps, and steel our hearts. Let action, and not words, be our motto and inspiring guide. And then shall my dream be realised of a beauteous land, blessed by nature, and filled by men true and manly, and heroic in every good cause—true children of the Motherland. Let us see in our heart of hearts the Heavens opening and the angels descending. In ancient books the gods are described as showering flowers and garlands on the scene of a notable battle. See we not, my friends, those flowers dropped to-day from self-same hands, welcoming us to the new battle, not of blood, but manly effort and stern resolve in the country's cause?

And Thou, Oh God of this ancient land, the protector and saviour of Aryavarta, and the merciful Father of us all, by whatever name we call upon Thee, be with us on this day, and, as a father, gathereth his children under his arms, do Thou gather us under Thy protecting and sanctifying care.

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

Who has not heard of Babu Surendranath Banerjea? His name and fame have penetrated to the remotest corners of India. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the Indus to Assam, everywhere, his name has become almost a household word. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea has, certainly, in the course of his public life, achieved a reputation, which falls to the lot of few men. What is the secret of this universal popularity, this extensive renown? How is it that he has established himself so deeply in the hearts of thousands of his countrymen?

To these questions there can be but one answer. And that answer is that Mr. Banerjea is India's greatest orator, and that his magnificent powers of oratory are conjoined to qualities of head and heart, striking and valuable in themselves. India, under British rule, has produced many orators, who would have shone in any assembly in the world. And the consensus of opinion seems to be, that, among them all, Surendranath ranks foremost. And Indians will be pardoned if in their pride of country they think that Surendranath is to India what Demosthenes is to Greece and Cicero to Italy. Although his oratory is the secret of the unique hold that Surendranath has over the affections of his countrymen, it cannot be denied that his other endowments are of no mean order. His capacity for work is declared by those who know him well, to be phenomenal. "The Bengalee may glory

in his imagination; the Mahratta in his strength of will", said a great lover of India with true insight.

Now, in Mr. Surendranath, both these traits of character are combined. Gifted to a high degree with the imagination, the emotional temperament, that marks the Bengalee, he has also a large share of the qualities of untiring energy, strenuous devotion to work, and dauntless courage for which the Mahratta is remarkable. We now propose to give a short account of the life of this exceptional man.

He was born at Calcutta, in 1848, in a family of Kulin Brahmins, the second of the five sons of Babu Durga Charan Banerjea, one of the leading Allopathic practitioners, at that time, in Bengal, from whom he seems to have inherited his characteristic energy and whole-hearted devotion to work. In early childhood, Surendranath was sent to a *Pathashala* for his primary education. At the age of seven, he joined the Doveton College, an institution then as now mainly directed to the education of Anglo-Indian youths. To this fact of his early contact with English speaking youths may be ascribed a considerable share of his facility as an orator. In 1863, with Latin as second language, he secured a first class in the Entrance Examination. This success brought him a "junior scholarship." A pass again in the first class in the F. A. Examination secured for him a "senior scholarship." He graduated in 1868, but only in the second class, owing to attacks of illness.

On the recommendation of the then Principal of the Doveton College and against the wishes of his relatives, Surendranath was sent to England, in 1868, to compete for the I. C. S. He joined the University College in London, and worked assiduously as a student under Professor Henry Morley and Professor Goldstucker with

whom he studied English and Sanskrit respectively. In 1869, he appeared for the I. C. S. along with Messrs. R. C. Dutt, Behary Lal Gupta, and Sripad Babaji Thakur. Objection was at first raised as to his being over the prescribed age, but was subsequently waived by the authorities. Surendranath was, accordingly, allowed to compete for the examination, and came out successful. He was posted as Assistant Magistrate of Sylhet in September 1871, and came back to India, just a few weeks after the death of his father.

About two years after he entered the Indian Civil Service, a number of charges were brought against him by Government, in connection with his official conduct. The charges were trifling, but they were made much of. A Commission of Enquiry was appointed to investigate the charges. Mr. Surendranath pleaded that the Commission should conduct its enquiries in public but in vain. The Commission sat outside Calcutta, pursued its enquiries secretly, and soon achieved remarkable results. Their verdict was, perhaps, a foregone conclusion. They found Surendranath guilty. The Government dismissed Mr. Banerjea from the Civil Service with a pension of Rs. 50 per month, thereby inflicting upon him a punishment out of all proportion to the gravity of the charges arrayed against him. Mr. Surendranath went to England to lay his case before the British Public, but his efforts proving unsuccessful, he returned to India. "Out of evil cometh Good", so it was in this case. What the Indian Civil Service lost, the country gained. We are not here concerned with the question whether or not Mr. Surendranath's fervid patriotism would have lain cooped up in his bosom, if he had continued in the service of Government. But his dismissal from the service has proved a veritable

blessing to the country. It is almost impossible to imagine the National Movement in India without Mr. Banerjea. We may as well try to imagine the play of Hamlet without the presence in it of the Dane.

It is remarkable how many of the distinguished leaders of the National Movement in India have been educationists. Mr. Arbinda Ghose spent a good portion of his life as a Professor in the Baroda College. Mr. Tilak began his life as an educationist and was for a considerable time a Professor in the Fergusson College. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale's case is well known. The late Mr. A. M. Bose had a great reputation as an educationist. And, Mr. Surendranath, as soon as his services were dispensed with in the Indian Civil Service, found an outlet for his talents in the educational sphere. In 1876, he was appointed Professor of English Literature in the Metropolitan Institution. In 1881, he also joined the staff of the Free Church College without severing his connection with the former institution. In 1882, he started a school of his own with about a hundred students on the roll. In the space of seven years, the institution grew to gigantic proportions. It was converted into a College and named after that most loved of Indian Viceroys—Lord Ripon. The Ripon College has now 1,500 students on its roll and enjoys the reputation of being one of the finest educational institutions in Bengal, even perhaps in all India. It is manned entirely by Indian graduates. The College was sometime back made over to a Committee of distinguished Bengalees on behalf of the public. The Ripon College owes its origin, development, and present commanding position, to the zeal and energy of a single Indian—Mr. Banerjea. It is an achievement of which any man may be proud.

We now take leave of Mr. Banerjea, the educationist, and proceed to delineate Mr. Banerjea, the journalist. Babu Surendranath began his journalistic career by taking charge of the *Bengalee*, which had been started chiefly by the late-lamented Mr. W. C. Bonerjea, during the stormy days of the Lytton Viceroyalty. He threw himself heart and soul into the work. The *Bengalee* soon came to the front rank of journalism, by its vigorous, dignified and unflinching criticism of public measures. The circulation of the *Bengalee* rapidly increased, and it was subsequently converted into a daily. Its present circulation stands at about 3,000. Its financial success may be inferred from the fact that it is the only Indian newspaper subscribing for Reuter's telegraphic service.

A journalist trying to do his duty fearlessly cannot but now and then find himself in deep waters. And Mr. Banerjea was no exception to the rule. During the days of the "Ilbert Bill" controversy, the *Bengalee* had distinguished itself by its fearless criticism of the bureaucracy and Anglo-Indians. These latter naturally harboured resentment against the offending editor, and were, perhaps, waiting for an opportunity to take vengeance. The opportunity soon came. In the year 1883, the *Bengalee* severely criticised the conduct of a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, who had in a case ordered the production of an idol (Saligram) in evidence. Mr. Banerjea was prosecuted for contempt of Court and was sentenced by a majority of Judges (Sir R. C. Mitter dissenting) to two months' imprisonment, though an apology was offered by Mr. Banerjea. The case excited the keenest interest in the country and a wave of sympathy and indignation passed over it when the sentence was pronounced—indignation at the harshness of the sentence and sympathy for the fearless and

patriotic victim of judicial wrath. When Mr. Banerjea was released, he made a tour in Northern India, and everywhere he was received with such enthusiasm that his tour has been described as a 'triumphal progress' by Sir H. G. S. Cotton in his "New India."

Mr. Banerjea's journalistic career has been coeval with the evolution of a political consciousness in this country. And to that evolution Mr. Banerjea's contribution through the medium of the *Bengalee* has been invaluable. During the exciting days of Lord Lytton, during the eventful days of Lord Ripon, during the memorable Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, during the Minto Viceroyalty with its reforms, repressions, and that new phenomenon, the bomb, during all these times, the *Bengalee* has been second to none in educating, organising and moulding public opinion. It was no wonder, therefore, that, last year, Mr. Banerjea was invited to represent India on the "Imperial Press Conference." His work at the Imperial Press Conference and after, is well known. At the Conference, he made a speech, which made a deep impression on all present. After he sat down, Lord Cromer rose and delivered a speech in which he made certain disparaging remarks on the Native Press of India, to which Mr. Banerjea felt bound to take exception. Mr. Banerjea accordingly rose and replied in a manner which made Lord Cromer quail. A colonial delegate to the Conference was so impressed with Mr. Banerjea's abilities that he told him that, if there were other men in India like Mr. Banerjea, Self-Government ought at once to be granted to India.

On the 26th July 1876, the "Indian Association" of Calcutta was ushered into being, by the united efforts of Messrs. Surendranath Banerjea, A. M. Bose and others. On the day the Association was inaugurated,

Mr. Banerjea's only son died, but so strong was his sense of duty that he was present in the evening to take part in the founding of an Association which he looked upon as an event in the land. Mr. Surendranath has long been its Secretary. There has been during the last thirty years and more, no political battle which the Association has fought, in which Mr. Banerjea has not figured largely. Mr. Banerjea undertook tours on behalf of the Association and preached the gospel of constitutional agitation with all the fervour of an apostle.

Mr. Banerjea has been one of the shining lights of the Congress Movement. He was unable to be present at its opening session at Bombay, but with the exception of the first, he has not, we believe, missed a single Congress. Year after year, he has had the honour of moving important propositions and often more than one. The speech of Mr. Banerjea is, perhaps, the chiefest attraction to the thousands who flock to witness the proceedings of the Congress. His speeches from the Congress platform have sometimes had very remarkable results. At the fifth Congress, his stirring appeal for funds brought a prompt response in the shape of subscriptions amounting to Rs. 60,000. In pursuance of a resolution of the fifth Congress, a deputation was sent to England, Mr. Surendranath being on it, to plead for the reform of the Legislative Councils. Mr. Surendranath addressed many meetings and everywhere created a most favourable impression. We shall here quote only one of many similar English appreciations of Mr. Surendranath's oratory. An Englishman who was present at one of the meetings thus wrote: "Experienced speakers in and out of Parliament found in the Babu a deal which recalled the sonorous thunders of a William Pitt, the dialectical skill of a Fox, the rich freshness of

illustration of a Burke, and the keen wit of a Sheridan." From the Presidential Chair of the sixth Congress, Sir P. M. Mehta (then Mr. Mehta) paid the following tribute to Mr. Surendranath for his work in England. "In his great and noble mission, Mr. Hume had the entire co-operation of a man of no ordinary powers and capacity. The rare and unrivalled powers of oratory, which we have learnt to admire in Mr. Surendranath Banerjea—for it is of him I speak—never shone with more brilliant effect than when he was pleading the cause of his countrymen at the bar of the English people with a fire and energy which extort universal respect and admiration." Mr. Surendranath's many services were recognised when he was called to the Presidential Chair of the eleventh Congress held at Poona, in 1895. Internal dissension was then busy in the Congress, but Mr. Banerjea steered the national vessel clear of it all. Of the address he delivered on the occasion, it is not possible to speak in terms of adequate praise. It occupied almost three hours in delivery, and was delivered without once referring to the written speech. The audience was throughout kept spell-bound. Those who heard the speech declared at the time that it was a superhuman effort of oratory and well, indeed, does the address deserve the description. Mr. Surendranath was a second time called to the Presidential Chair of the Congress held at Ahmedabad in 1902. His address on the occasion was a masterpiece which occupied two hours in delivery. The address must be read in full to be justly appreciated.

A memorable chapter opens in the political career of Surendranath, with the Partition of Bengal. He took the lead in organising the opposition to the measure. He stumped Bengal and addressed meeting after meeting in the Vernacular, and here it will be interesting to know that

Mr. Banerjea speaks almost as effectively in Bengalee as in English. When agitation proved fruitless, he unfurled the banner of boycott and carried it throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. Mr. Surendranath holds that Swadeshi and Boycott are inseparable, being the obverse and reverse of the same coin.

An account of Mr. Banerjea's services to his country would be imperfect without a reference to his several 'missions' to England. We have already referred to the deputation sent to England to agitate for the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. Mr. Surendranath went to England in 1897, to give evidence before the Welby Commission. His evidence has been much admired for the mastery of Indian political problems it displays. After the evidence was over, Mr. Surendranath addressed many meetings in England, bringing honour not only to himself but also to his country. His latest visit to England was in connection with the Imperial Press Conference to which we have already alluded.

Before bringing this sketch to a close, we shall say a few words about Mr. Banerjea as a "City Father" and as Legislative Councillor. Mr. Banerjea has always taken a keen interest in municipal matters and was elected to the Calcutta Corporation in 1876. From that time he was one of the most active members of the Corporation for 23 years, till he resigned, in 1899, as a protest against the New Municipal Act passed in the teeth of determined opposition.

In 1893, Babu Surendranath was among the first who sat in the reformed Legislative Councils. In 1894 and again in 1896, he was elected by the Corporation of Calcutta, and, in 1898, by the District Board for the Presidency Division. In 1900, although it was not the turn of the District Board to send a representative, Sir

John Woodburn valued his services so highly that he accorded the Board the privilege of sending a representative and it elected Babu Surendranath a second time, in order to help in the discussion over the Municipal Bill, which was then on the Legislative anvil. While in the Council, he was instrumental in the passing of the Sanitary Drainage Act of 1895, but his opposition to the Calcutta Municipal Act proved futile. He twice stood for the Imperial Legislative Council, but was defeated on both occasions.

Mr. Banerjea has one son and five daughters. Being a practical social reformer, he has carefully educated all his daughters. Although his duties take him to Calcutta, Mr. Banerjea lives at Manirampore, a village 13 miles north of Calcutta. He has a passion for gardening and spends a good portion of his leisure in the garden surrounding his house. Though more than 60 years old, Mr. Banerjea takes physical exercise every day systematically.

The public life of Babu Surendranath Banerjea extends, as the foregoing sketch will show, over a period of 35 years. In many spheres of life, he has built up an abiding reputation and has done incalculable good to his country. Whatever differences of opinion there may be, as to the political goal of India or the path to that goal, few will dispute his claim to an honourable place among the makers of the future Indian Nation.

THE ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

[The peroration of the Presidential Address of Babu Surendranath Banerjea delivered at the Eleventh Session of the Indian National Congress held at Poona in the year 1895.]

To-day is the first day of the Eleventh Session of the Congress. Many Sessions of the Congress must yet be held before even our moderate programme is accomplished. The car of human progress moves slowly forward. But he who has set his hand to the plough cannot afford to look back. He must spend and be spent in the cause. How many brave comrades, whose memories we mourn, have fallen! how many more will yet fall before the journey through the wilderness is accomplished, and we are in view of Canaan! To some choice spirits, elevated by faith and hope, may be vouchsafed, as was vouchsafed to Moses of old from the heights of Sinai, a glimpse into the promised land, a foretaste of that precious treasure of civil and political rights, which, in the Providence of God and under the auspices of English rule, is to be the destined heritage of their nation. As for the rest they must possess their souls in patience, supported by the undying faith that their cause, based upon the highest justice, must eventually triumph. "A man with a conviction," says John Stuart Mill in his "Essay on Representative Government," "is equal to ninety-nine without one." The man of earnest faith is irresistible and all-conquering. We,

Congressmen, know what we are about; we know our minds, we know our methods; we stick to them with resolute tenacity of purpose—with a faith which, so far as some of us are concerned, I will say, does not belong to the things of this world. And who will say that the future is not ours?

We feel that in this great struggle in which we are engaged, the moral sympathies of civilised humanity are with us. The prayers of the good and the true in all parts of the world follow us. They will welcome as glad tidings of great joy the birth of an emancipated people on the banks of the Ganges. For have they not all read about our ancient civilization; how, in the morning of the world, before the Eternal City had been built upon the Seven Hills, before Alexander had marched his army to the banks of the Tigris, before Babylonian astronomers had learnt to gaze upon the starry world, our ancestors had developed a great civilization, and how that civilization has profoundly influenced the course of modern thought in the highest concerns of man? Above all, we rely with unbounded confidence on the justice and generosity of the British people and of their representatives in Parliament.

It is not that we mistrust the authorities here. But the higher we mount, the purer is the atmosphere. The impurities generated by local causes cannot touch those, who removed from local influences, represent in a loftier sphere of responsibility the majesty and the greatness of the English nation. Let us freely acknowledge the tribute we owe to the British Government in India. What Government could have accorded a speedier recognition to Congress claims than the Government of India has done? Within the lifetime of a generation we have achieved changes—beneficent changes of far-reaching

moment—which it would have taken many generations to accomplish elsewhere, which, in less fortunately situated countries, could not have been accomplished except, perhaps, after bloodshed and tumult. All this we freely acknowledge. For all this we are truly grateful. All this fills with hope for the future.

Nevertheless, we feel that much yet remains to be done, and the impetus must come from England. To England we look for inspiration and guidance. To England we look for sympathy in the struggle. From England must come the crowning mandate which will enfranchise our peoples. England is our political guide and our moral preceptor in the exalted sphere of political duty. English history has taught us those principles of freedom which we cherish with our lifeblood. We have been fed upon the strong food of English constitutional freedom. We have been taught to admire the eloquence and genius of the great masters of English political philosophy. We have been brought face to face with the struggles and the triumphs of the English people in their stately march towards constitutional freedom. Where will you find better models of courage, devotion and sacrifice; not in Rome, not in Greece, not even in France in the stormy days of the Revolution—courage tempered by caution, enthusiasm leavened by sobriety, partisanship softened by a large-hearted charity—all subordinated to the one predominating sense of love of country and love of God.

We should be unworthy of ourselves and of our preceptors—we should, indeed, be something less than human—if, with our souls stirred to their inmost depths, our warm, Oriental sensibilities roused to an unwonted pitch of enthusiasm by the contemplation of these great ideals of public duty, we did not seek to transplant

into our own country the spirit of those free institutions which have made England what she is. In the words of Lord Lansdowne, a wave of unrest is passing through this country. But it is not the unrest of discontent or disloyalty to the British Government—it is the unrest which is the first visible sign of the awakening of a new national life. It is the work of Englishmen—it is the noblest monument of their rule—it is the visible embodiment of the vast moral influence which they are exercising over the minds of the people of India. Never in the history of the world have the inheritors of an ancient civilization been so profoundly influenced by the influx of modern ideas. In this Congress from year to year we ask England to accomplish her glorious work. The course of civilization following the path of the Sun has travelled from East to West. The West owes a heavy debt to the East. We look forward to the day when that debt will be repaid, not only by the moral regeneration, but by the political enfranchisement of our people.

In our efforts for the improvement of our political status, we feel that we may appeal with confidence to the sympathies of the Anglo-Indian community. They are Englishmen. By instinct and by tradition, they are the friends of freedom. In regard to many, their interests in the country are permanent. In regard to many more in view of the falling exchange, they are looking forward to making India their permanent home. Burke's well-known aphorism of the Anglo-Indians of his day being "birds of prey and passage" is well-nigh an extinct tradition. Our interests and their interests are identical. Their political status is not a whit removed from ours. If they have more influence in the Government, it is due to sufferance.

They cannot claim it as a matter of right. Any extension of our political privileges would benefit them as well as ourselves. Difference there will always be between different sections of the same community, as there is in this country between zemindars and ryots ; as there is in European countries between capitalists and labourers. But we are essentially members of the same community, in the sense that we have common rights and common grievances, and that it is our duty to stand shoulder to shoulder to remedy our grievances and to promote our rights. We are all interested in the development of our manufactures, and we all know what pressure is brought to bear upon the Government here—sometimes masked under the guise of philanthropy, sometimes less thinly veiled—to interfere with the growth of our manufacturing industries. Here, as in other matters, united we stand, divided we fall.

There is another agency—impalpable and invisible, noiselessly advancing onwards amid the din of our strifes towards the accomplishment of its own hidden purposes—which is helping us in this onward struggle. That agency is time. Time is with us—Time, present and future, is our ally. "Truth," says the Latin proverb, "is the daughter of Time." We rely upon the beneficent forces of the Unseen Time. I know not whether there ever was a golden age in the past. It is a beautiful tradition. It embalms the ever-present sense of dissatisfaction which humanity feels with the present. Dissatisfaction is the parent of all progress. It stirs us on to ceaseless activity for the betterment of our race. A golden age is, indeed, looming in the future. There is a golden age in store for us and our children. It is this feeling which reconciles us to the present. We feel that if political freedom in the sense in which it is enjoined

by British subjects elsewhere is not to be our lot, it will be the inheritance of those who, coming after us, will bear our names and carry on our work. In that faith we work. In that faith we ask others to work. It is the faith which is the cement of the Congress movement. It implies confidence in the progressive character of British rule. It implies confidence in ourselves. Let it not be said that this confidence is misplaced. Let it not be said that the enthusiasm which animated us in the first days of the Congress movement is on the wane. The past ought to encourage us. The future ought to stir us into enthusiasm. The noblest heritage which we can leave to our children and our children's children is the heritage of enlarged rights, safeguarded by the loyal devotion and the fervent enthusiasm of an emancipated people. Let us so work with confidence in each other, with unwavering loyalty to the British connection, that we may accomplish this great object within a measurable distance of time. Then will the Congress have fulfilled its mission—justified the hopes of those who founded it, and who worked for it—not, indeed, by the supersession of British rule in India, but by broadening its basis, liberalizing its spirit, ennobling its character, and placing it upon the unchangeable foundations of a nation's affections. It is not severance that we look forward to—but unification, permanent embodiment as an integral part of that great Empire which has given the rest of the world the models of free institutions—that is what we aim at. But permanence means assimilation, incorporation, equal rights, equal privileges. Permanence is incompatible with any form of Military despotism, which is a temporary make-shift adapted to a temporary purpose. England is the august mother of free nations. She has covered the

world with free States. Places, hitherto the chosen abode of barbarism, are now the home of freedom. Wherever floats the flag of England, there free Governments have been established. We appeal to England gradually to change the character of her rule in India, to liberalise it, to shift its foundations, to adapt it to the newly-developed environments of the country and the people, so that, in the fulness of time, India may find its place in the great confederacy of free States, English in their origin, English in their character, English in their institutions, rejoicing in their permanent and indissoluble union with England, a glory to the mother-country, and an honour to the human race. Then will England have fulfilled her great mission in the East, accomplished her high destiny among nations, repaid the long standing debt which the West owes to the East, and covered herself with imperishable renown and everlasting glory.

THE EIGHTEENTH SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

[The peroration of the Presidential Address of Babu Surendranath Banerjee delivered at the Eighteenth Session of the Indian National Congress held at Ahmedabad in 1902.]

To-day we begin our work for the 18th Session of the Congress. The mind is spontaneously carried back to the past—to the trials we have endured, the labours we have undergone, the disappointments we have suffered and the triumphs we have achieved. The time has not yet arrived for the final judgment, for the authoritative pronouncement of history, on the work of the Congress. We are yet in the midst of our journey, our long, long journey, through the dreary wilderness, which is to carry us to the Promised Land. Many will not enter Canaan. Some choice spirits have already fallen in the grand march. Many more will yet fall, before the journey is accomplished and the darkness of night gives place to the dawning of the new day. Some of us, who cannot promise to ourselves length of days, can only anticipate with the eye of hope and faith the blessings of the Promised Land. But the faith that is in us is strong and the hope that inspires us is proof against all disappointments—all reverses. We have an undying faith, as strong as ever inspired a prophet or a priest, that the cause to which we are pledged will, in the ordering of Providence, triumph over all difficulties, outlive all prejudices, leading us onward and upward, inspiring at each stage a loftier devotion and developing a truer manhood, until the regenerated man claims and asserts his political franchise

as at once his birthright and the just tribute of his higher nature. For myself, I believe the Congress has a divine mission. It is a dispensation of Almighty God for the unification of our peoples and the permanence of British Rule in India. Thus we are gathered together under the ægis of an organization, political in its character and in its scope, but drawing its strength and its inspiration from those ever-living fountains, which flow from the footsteps of the throne of the supreme. Sri Krishna—the divinely inspired Sri Krishna—who has his shrine at Dwaraka, in the Province of Guzerat, in his memorable admonition to Arjuna on the battle field of *Kurukshetra*, said *Karma* is *Dharma* (good deeds constitute religion). Is there a holier *Dharma*, a nobler religion, a diviner mandate, than that which enjoins that our most sacred duty which has a paramountcy over all others, is the duty which we owe to the land of our birth?

What are trials—what are delays, what are disappointments—what is even the cankering worry of vexation in the presence of this consecrated task? They are the necessary incidents of the struggle in which we are engaged—the ordeal of fire through which we must pass—the purificatory stage which must qualify us for the rich blessings that are in store for us. They will strengthen our fibre, develop our manhood, ennoble our nature, and call forth whatever is good and great in us. The chastening discipline of adverse circumstances is the necessary apprenticeship for the splendid heritage to which we aspire. We ought to thank God on our knees that the discipline is so mild—the sacrifice entailed so insignificant. Read the ensanguined pages of history—note the trial of blood and the hecatombs of mangled corpses, with all their attendant horror and desolation, which mark the line along which victorious movements

of reform have careered their triumphant way. We live in happier times, under more fortunate circumstances, under the beneficent protection of a rule which affords the widest tolerance for the widest differences of opinion and evinces the deepest sympathy for all constitutional struggles, for constitutional liberty. Yet we have our trials and our disappointments. The forces of reaction are now in the ascendant. The cause of progress has met with a temporary check. For the moment we have been worsted. For the moment we have lost ground. But we, Congressmen, never confess to a defeat. We bide our time in firm conviction that the turn in the tide will come and the forces which make for progress will once again assert their undisputed supremacy.

* Imperialism blocks the way. Imperialism is now the prevailing creed. Imperialism has always been synonymous with autocracy—the rule of the despotic monarch or of the victorious general, who was made his way to sovereign power. In ancient Rome, as in modern France, imperialism meant the supersession of popular authority and the establishment of one-man authority. British imperialism does not, indeed, imply the extinction of British democracy. It means Self-Government for Great Britain and her Colonies, authority for the rest of the British Empire. What its latent possibilities are, it is impossible to say. Whether in its further developments, it will lead to the curtailment of democratic power is one of those secrets, hidden deep in the bosom of time, regarding which even the most confident predictions may prove futile. But all history bears record that the extension of territory and powers over subject races is fatal to popular Government. Let us not, however, speculate about the future. British imperialism implies the closer union—the more intimate federation between the English

speaking subjects of His Majesty. We stand outside the pale of this federation. We are not admitted into this inner sanctuary of freedom. We are not permitted to enter the threshold of the Holy of Holies. We are privileged only to serve and to admire from a distance. As a part of the Empire, we sent out troops to South Africa, and they saved Natal. As a part of the Empire, we sent out troops to China, and our Indian soldiery planted the Imperial standard on the walls of Peking. Our loyalty is admittedly so genuine, so deep and so intensely realistic that even the Secretary of State had no conception of it. All the same, we are not the children of the Empire, entitled to its great constitutional privileges. We are Uitlanders in the land of our birth worse than helots in the British Colonies. Our countrymen in Natal, whose splendid behaviour during the late war was the subject of unstinted praise, are still exposed to a degrading treatment which is galling to their self-respect and discreditable to those who permit it. British Imperialism, which is so sedulous in exalting British greatness, is not equally sedulous in opening up to us the possibilities of our greatness. British Imperialism which seeks to draw closer the bonds of union between the mother-country and the Colonies has literally done nothing to cement the loyalty or deepen the gratitude of the Indian people. I would welcome an Imperialism which would draw us nearer to Britain by the ties of a common citizenship and which would enhance our self-respect, by making us feel that we are participators in the priceless heritage of British freedom. But we are as yet very far from this blessed consummation. In India Imperialism has accentuated the forces of reaction and has engendered a love of pomp and show which is apt to encourage extravagance and to withdraw attention from the graver issues of domestic reform. We are not,

therefore, prepared to welcome the new Imperialism in the form and garb in which it appears to us. Mr. Gladstone's sound Liberalism, with its strenuous persistency in the matter of domestic reform, with its thorough recognition of England's grave responsibilities in relation to India, would be to us far more acceptable than the imperialism, which indulges in expensive pageants, but which turns a deaf ear to the cry of the coolies in the tea-gardens of Assam, which often subordinates our interests to other interests, and which relies for the justification of Imperial Rule upon the pomp and circumstances of imperial grandeur rather than upon the solid and enduring basis of truly imperial achievements. x

I have no doubt that the new Imperialism is a passing phrensy which the robust common sense of the English people will ere long discountenance and that it will soon pass away, like so many of the varying fashions of the hour. But whether that be so or not, we must be sleepless in our vigilance and unremitting in our efforts to stem the tide and roll it back. We have no reasons to be discouraged. The past ought to stimulate us and stir us into new enthusiasm. Ours is a brilliant record. I claim for the Congress that it has never taken up a question which it has not brought within the range of practical politics. You took up the question of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions. The matter is awaiting consideration by the Government of India. You agitated for the reform of the Police. A Police Commission is now sitting to elaborate a scheme of Police reform. You insisted in season and out of season upon the wider employment of our countrymen in the Public Service. The Public Service Commission was appointed; and though much remains to be done, the impetus you communicated to the movement will produce enduring

results. Last but not least, your crowning triumph was the introduction of the representative principle into the government of the country. But your moral achievements, though less palpable and obtrusive, are as yet more enduring monument of your public spirit and self-sacrificing devotion. You have created a new spirit and have infused a new life into our people. You have brought together the varied and multitudinous races and peoples of India upon the same common platform and have inspired them with a lofty sense of patriotism. You have established a new bond of sympathy among them and their leaders and have taught them the value of organised effort, with all the infinite possibilities of good attendant thereon.

Yet there are those who take a desponding view of the situation—who say that our methods are faulty, that we have wasted our time and our breath, or that at any rate the results achieved have not been commensurate to the sacrifices incurred or the efforts put forth. There are moments of despondency which cast their shadows over the noblest and most unselfish natures, when the spirit appalled at the sacrifices made, shrinks back at the contemplation of the disproportioned achievement. In the anguish of disappointment, the question is asked—what is the good of persevering in methods and in sacrifices, when the outturn of them all is so insignificant? I confess I have nothing but respect for those who, with the utmost good-will for the Congress and ceaseless in their endeavours for the public weal, are sometimes apt to indulge in these sombre reflections. But I ask—has the time come for the final judgment? I ask—are the results inadequate? Even if they were—what are twenty years in the lifetime of a nation! The triumphs of liberty are not won in a day. Liberty is a jealous goddess, exacting in her worship and

claiming from her votaries prolonged and assiduous devotion. Read history. Learn from it the inestimable lesson of patience and fortitude and the self-sacrificing devotion which a constitutional struggle for constitutional liberty involves. Need I impress these lessons upon a people who have presented to the world the noblest examples of these virtues? Every page of Indian history is resplendent with the touch of self-abnegation. In seasons of doubt and despair when darkness thickens upon us, when the journey before us seems to be long and weary and the soul sinks under the accumulating pressure of adverse circumstances, may we not turn for inspiration and guidance to those great teachers of our race—those master-spirits—who, with their hearts aglow with the divine enthusiasm, triumphed over the failing spirit, faced disappointment and persecution with the serenity of a higher faith and lived to witness the complete realization of their ideals? Chaitanya and Nanak, Tukaram and Ram Das lift the mind high up to the sublimer eminence of the divine ideal. India of the past is rich in these examples. May we not hope for their successors in the India of the present, in the India of the Congress, in the India under British Rule, with all the stirring influences of Western life and civilization? The responsibilities of the present, the hopes of the future, the glories of the past ought all to inspire us with the noblest enthusiasm to serve our country. Is there a land more worthy of service and sacrifice? Where is a land more interesting, more venerated in antiquity, more rich in historic traditions, in the wealth of religious, ethical and spiritual conceptions which have left an enduring impression on the civilization of mankind? India is the cradle of true religions. It is the holy land of the East. Here knowledge first lit her torch. Here, in the morning of the world,

the Vedic Rishis sang those hymns which represent the first yearnings of infant humanity towards the divine ideal. Here was developed a literature and a language which still excites the admiration of mankind—a philosophy which pondered deep over the problems of life and evolved solutions which satisfied the highest yearnings of the loftiest minds. Here man first essayed to solve the mystery of life, and the solution wrapped in the rich colours of the poetic imagination and clothed with the deeper significance of a higher spiritual idea, bids fair, thanks to the genius of the greatest Hindu scientist of the age, to be accepted by the world of science. From our shores went forth those missionaries who fired with apostolic fervour traversed the wilds of Asia and established the ascendancy of that faith which is the law and the religion of the nations of the far East. Japan is our spiritual pupil. China and Siberia and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago turn with reverend eyes to the land where was born the prophet of their faith. Our pupils have out-distanced us; and where are we, hesitating, doubting, calculating, casting up moral results to satisfy ourselves that our gains have been commensurate to our sacrifices. Such, indeed, has not been the royal road to political enfranchisement. The triumphs of liberty have not thus been won. Japan is an object-lesson which thrusts itself upon the view. Read her history; note her wonderful self-sacrifice, her marvellous power of adaptation, her patience, her fortitude, her indomitable energy and persistency, and let the most ancient of Eastern nations derive inspiration and guidance from the youngest which has solved the riddle of Asiatic life and has harmonized the conservatism of the East with the progressive forces of the West.

In the constitutional struggle in which we are engaged, we need the co-operation of Englishmen and the

sympathies of civilized mankind. It is England which has created in us those political aspirations, the fruition of which we now claim. Our minds are steeped in the literature of the West. Our souls have been stirred by the great models of public virtue which the pages of English history so freely present. Where shall we find the like of them? Their sobriety, their moderation, their lofty enthusiasm for the public good, their scrupulous regard for constitutional principles, even amid the fervour and heat of revolutionary agitation, place them in the front-rank of political leaders for all times and all countries. Englishmen must accept the consequences of their own policy—they must cheerfully face the results which are the outcome of their own beneficent administration. They must gratify the ambitions which they have roused and adopt their administration to the altered conditions which are of their own creation. They have taught us the principle of adaptation to the environments of our situation, and they must not complain, if we, as their apt pupils, invite them to reduce to practice what they enforce by precept. We have no higher aspiration than that we should be admitted into the great confederacy of self-governing States, of which England is the august mother. We recognise that the journey towards the destined goal must necessarily be slow and that the blessed consummation can only be attained after prolonged preparation and laborious apprenticeship. But a beginning has to be made, and there seems to be no more suitable time for inaugurating this new departure, for commemorating the new epoch which is to mark the birth of an emancipated people than the commencement of the new reign. The victorian epoch, memorable in its achievements, is still more memorable in the generous impulse to human freedom which it communicated in all parts of the world. We shared in full measure the beneficent influences of

that epoch. Our disabilities were removed, our rights were extended, higher ideals of Government were recognised and a loftier conception of Imperial duty enforced. A succession of illustrious Viceroys imparted an impetus to this beneficent movement. To the new Sovereign, to whom, on his Coronation, we offer our respectful salutation, we appeal to commemorate his glorious reign by the still further expansion of those great traditions of Government which have been consecrated by the example of his illustrious mother and which more than British arms have contributed to the solidarity of the British Empire. We have a special claim upon His Majesty's sympathetic consideration. The recollections of his Indian tour are to us a grateful memory. We know him. He knows us. His Majesty's feelings in relation to us are those of personal good-will. Our feelings in relation to him are those of personal attachment and devotion, emphasized by the recollections of his general warmth, his truly, kingly, benignity, his royal condescension, his generous concern for all placed under his authority. The words of the Proclamation are still ringing in our ears, consecrated by the breath of his illustrious mother, our late Sovereign. We have His Majesty's assurance that he proposes to follow the traditions of his great mother, that the happiness of the Princes and the people of India would be to him matters of the highest concern and that he would endeavour to promote the general well-being of all classes of his Indian subjects and thus merit their loyalty and affection. We appeal to His Majesty to enthrone himself in the hearts of his people and to lay broad and deep the foundations of his Empire, by the practical recognition of the claims of the people of India to a just and adequate representation in the government of their country, by the gradual extension to them of that system of Self-Government which has been the invariable accompaniment

of British power and civilization and which, wherever it has been granted, has been the strongest bulwark of Imperial Rule and has evoked the affectionate gratitude of the people. Under the beneficent influences of Self-Government, alien races, hostile to the British connection, have been transformed into loyal and devoted subjects of the crown. We need no such transformation. We are already sufficiently loyal, sufficiently attached to the British connection. But we are anxious for the permanence of, British rule—for our permanent incorporation into the great confederacy of the British Empire. The present system of Government necessarily represents a transition. All history proclaims the truth that autocratic power is devoid of the elements of permanence and that authority to be permanent must be planted deep in the affections of the people and derive its sustaining breath from the vitalizing springs of popular enthusiasm. The voice of the people is the voice of God; and the right pivative to rule is based on the unchangeable foundations of the love, the gratitude, the devotion of a people, evoked by the consciousness that they share with their rulers the responsibilities of Government. Despotism represents a stage of transition, the period of which should not be unnecessarily prolonged. But transition must give place to permanence. All signs point to the conclusion that the period of reconstruction has now arrived. The forces are there; the materials are there; they lie in shapeless masses. Where is the man of genius who will communicate to them the vital spark and transform them into a new and a higher and a grander organization, suited to our present requirements and fraught with the hopes of a higher life for us and a nobler era for British Rule in India? The statesmanship of Mr. Chamberlain bent upon work of reconstruction and consolidation in South Africa, will pale before the

splendour of his crowning achievement. We plead for the permanence of British rule in India. We plead for the gradual reconstruction of that ancient and venerated system which has given to India, law and order and the elements of stable peace. We plead for justice and liberty—for equal rights and enlarged privileges—favour participation in the citizenship of the Empire; and I am sure we do not plead in vain; for the Empire thus reconstituted and reorganised, will be stronger, nobler, richer far, in the love, the gratitude, the enthusiastic devotion of a happy and contented people, rejoicing in their indissoluble union with England and glorying in the rich promises of steady and uninterrupted progress towards their high destinies, under the protection and guidance of that great people, to whom in the counsels of Providence has been assigned the high mission and the consecrated task of disseminating among the nations of the earth, the great, the priceless, the inestimable blessing of constitutional liberty.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT

Speech delivered by Babu Surendranath Banerjee.

I have heard the Swadeshi movement described as "the so-called Swadeshi Movement" by high officials and by the representatives of the Anglo-Indian Press. I confess, I don't quite understand what is meant by the expression. But may I make a guess. What perhaps is implied is that ours is really a political movement masked under an economic guise. If I am right in this interpretation I will say this, that the description is both inadequate and misleading. Swadeshim is, or more properly speaking, was, until its more recent developments, a purely economic movement, which, in the particular circumstances of our province, received an impetus from political considerations. Swadeshim came into being long before even Lord Curzon assumed the reins of office. Its existence was ignored amid the tumultuous distractions of our political controversies. While other and more ephemeral movements monopolised public attention, the infant Hercules was growing in strength and stature, laying up for itself a rich reserve fund of energy which was to qualify it for its marvellous achievements in the future. The infant Hercules has now grown into years of adolescence and his labours have just begun.

I have heard the Swadeshi movement described as being in the domain of economics what the Congress is in the domain of politics. I venture to think it is a good ideal more than that. It is not merely an economic or a social or a political movement, but it is an all-comprehensive movement, co-extensive with the

entire circle of our national life, and in which are centred the many-sided activities of our growing community. It is the rallying cry of all India, of her multitudinous races and peoples. It appeals to all—high and low, rich and poor. It is understood by all. The Deccan peasant or the Bengali rustic may find some difficulty in understanding the merits of a system of representative government. The subtleties of the question involved in the separation of judicial from executive functions may elude the grasp of his untrained mind. But when you tell him that the wealth of the country must be kept in the country, that it is to his advantage that it should be so kept, and that for this purpose he must purchase country-made articles in preference to foreign articles, he opens wide his eyes and ears and drinks in the lesson. A glow of intelligence illumines his features ; hope for the moment chases away the settled melancholy of his countenance, and he recognises that herein lies the solution of what to him is the problem of problems, the removal of the property of himself and of his class. He stands by you and salutes you as his deliverer.

Gentlemen, fifteen months ago, my late-lamented friend, Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose, whose memory you respect and whose name I revere and adore—had a conversation in connexion with the partition question with a high official of the Government. That official said to my friend, "Mr. Bose, if the masses were to interest themselves in public affairs, the government of this country would have to be conducted upon totally different principles." We are resolved to bring the masses and the classes together, and to associate them with us in our political agitations. We are resolved to liberalise this great Government and broad-base it upon the foundations of the willing loyalty

and the devoted allegiance of the people. That represents the goal of our aspirations. The Congress has brought the educated community throughout the country upon the same platform. Swadeshism will bring the classes and the masses upon the same platform.

Swadeshism is based upon the love of country and not the hatred of the foreigner. I know the statement will at once be challenged. It will be said that Swadeshism has accentuated the acerbities of antagonism. If it has done so, we are guiltless. We are in no way responsible for it. We have been the persecuted rather than the persecutors. We have suffered, but we have not retaliated. I fail to see wherein the element of racial hatred comes in at all. If you don't choose to purchase an article manufactured by me, does it follow that you hate me? (A voice; No). With similar consistency you may say that because you don't choose to eat food cooked by me therefore you hate me. Absolutely no sort of racial antagonism or strife is involved in Swadeshism. Further, in the domain of the emotions, the possessing of a particular quality involves the negation of its opposite. Love of justice involves the hatred of injustice. Love of truth involves the hatred of falsehood. Love of the goods of one's own country necessarily involves dislike—I will not say hatred—of the goods of a foreign country. If there is an element of dislike, are we responsible for it? It is inherent in the very nature of things. Once again I say that Swadeshism is based upon the love of country. Our object is to popularise the use of indigenous articles, to foster the growth and development of indigenous arts and industries and to safeguard the country against the growing evils of impoverishment. Ours is one of the poorest countries in the world—so poor that there is none to do her obeisance. She is no

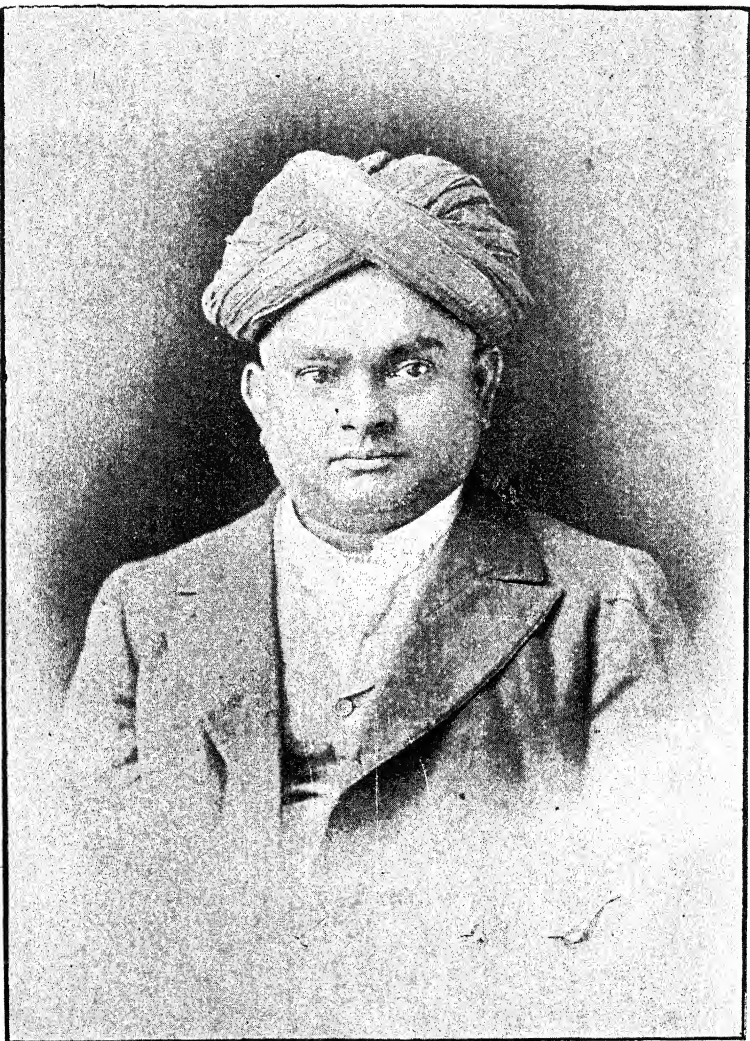
longer the country which once excited the cupidity of foreign conquerors—a country whose pristine splendour brought down upon her fertile plains the marauding hordes from the arid steppes of Central Asia. Her days of prosperity are gone—I hope not for ever. Our poverty is accentuated by the official drain and the commercial drain. The official drain consists of the Home Charges. I may say that until there is a further expansion of the Legislative Councils and we have a potent voice over the public expenditure, the official drain will continue unchecked and undiminished. The commercial drain is a factor which we can grapple with at once. We spend about fifty crores of rupees every year in purchasing foreign articles. In Bengal, gentlemen, we spend about sixteen crores every year upon the purchase of foreign manufactured piece-goods. Our population is eight crores; therefore, independently of the taxes which we pay to the British Government, we pay a poll-tax of Rs. 2 (2s. 8d.) per head. We are resolved to put an end to this poll-tax. And I ask you to help us to do so.

Swadeshism is an all-comprehensive movement. In Bengal it has revolutionised our ideals and conceptions. The air is surcharged with the industrial spirit. The craze for service has received a check. The spirit of self-reliance is abroad. We are making an earnest and organised effort to place education, general and technical, under national control and conduct it in accordance with national ideals and aspirations. All this represents the trend of things in Bengal. The Bengal of to-day—Bengal after the partition—is a very different place from Bengal before the partition. As I have referred to the partition, I may perhaps for a moment be permitted to allude to that which fills the heart of every patriotic Bengali. Mr. Morley has told us that the partition is a settled fact. We decline to accept the

partition as a settled fact. We decline to accept what is a wrong, a grievous wrong, an outrage upon public sentiment as among the verities of life and administration. The wrong must be undone. My earnest appeal to you all is to sympathise and to co-operate with us in undoing that which is the most grievous injury that we have suffered in the whole course of our connection with England. Make it an All-India question. It is not a question affecting a mere territorial redistribution. The issues are much graver than that. The question is, whether the public opinion of a great province is to be flouted and treated with undisguised contempt in a matter which vitally affects the interests of the province. It is in another form and in a different garb the old old question of the assertion of popular opinion, the vindication of the principle of Self-Government.

In conclusion, I would make an earnest appeal to you once again on behalf of Swadeshism. Gather round the Swadeshi movement and uplift its banner. Carry it from village to village, from town to town, and from district to district, spread the glad tidings of great joy throughout the length and breadth of this great Presidency. Take the Swadeshi vow, and you will have laid broad and deep the foundations of your industrial and political emancipation. Be Swadeshi in all things, in your thoughts and actions, in your ideals and aspirations. Bring back the ancient days of purity and self-sacrifice. All Asia is astir with the pulsations of a new life. The sun has risen in the East. Japan has saluted the rising sun. That sun, in its meridian splendour, will pass through our country. Oh, prepare yourselves for the advent of that glorious day. Dedicate yourselves with absolute self-denial to the service of your Motherland. Let us consecrate ourselves to the service of this great and ancient land. Let all differences be buried, all

strifes and animosities allayed, and let the jarring notes of the party dissensions be hushed in the presence of the prostrate form of our Motherland. Swadeshism does not exclude foreign ideals or foreign learning or foreign arts and industries, but insists that they shall be assimilated into the national system, be moulded after the national pattern and be incorporated into the life of the nation. Such is my conception of Swadeshism. Once again, in the name of Swadeshism, I ask you to take the Swadeshi vow that from this day forward you will devote yourselves life and soul to the service of your Motherland.



G. SUBRAMANI AIYAR.

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER

If there is any man who more than any other has contributed to the building up of public life in Southern India during the last thirty years, it is undoubtedly Mr. G. Subramania Iyer. When the political history of South India comes to be written, there can be no doubt that his name will occupy a very high place in it.

He was born in January 1855, on the sacred banks of the Cauvery, in Tiruvadi in the Tanjore District, as the fourth of seven sons to Ganapathy Dikshitar, a Brahmin pleader, practising in the Munsiff's Court of Tiruvadi. He was sent for his early education to the local School and afterwards to the St. Peter's College in Tanjore, where he matriculated in 1871 and passed his First in Arts Examination in 1873. In the year 1874, he went to the Normal School at Madras, to undergo training for the teacher's profession. In 1875, he entered the Church of Scotland Mission School at Madras on a monthly salary of Rs. 40. Two years afterwards he accepted an appointment in the Pachayappa's High School, Madras. It was about this time that he made the friendship of the late Mr. Veeraraghavachariar, his co-adjutor in the *Hindu*, who was then studying for the B. A. Mr. Iyer also appeared for the B. A. Examination in 1877, as a private candidate, and came out successful. In 1879, he was appointed Headmaster of the Anglo-Vernacular School, Triplicane.

He now sought a wide sphere for his talents. By this time the need for a journal voicing popular opinion

became more and more felt. In spite of circumstances that would have frightened hearts less stout, Mr. Iyer, with the co-operation of the late-lamented Veeraraghava Chariar and a few others, started the *Hindu* as a weekly. It was subsequently converted into a tri-weekly and afterwards into a daily. "He occupied the editorial chair of the *Hindu* for about 20 years, till on account of circumstances needless to detail here, he had to sever his connection with it in 1898. Of his editorial regime, it is needless to speak. The *Hindu* became a power in the land. It was distinguished by an ability, fearlessness and sense of public duty, that brought it to the very forefront of organs of public opinion in this country and made it one of the foremost, if not the foremost exponent of independent public opinion. Such was its prestige that Lord Ripon, whenever he had occasion to ascertain public opinion on any important measure, used to say: "Take the *Hindu*, and see what it says." When, in 1898, he severed his connection with the *Hindu*, he started a new weekly English journal called *United India*, which he conducted for sometime with his usual ability, when it changed hands.

Not content with his journalistic work in connection with the *Hindu*, Mr. Iyer had long cherished, the ambition of establishing a Tamil organ, for the education of the masses. This ambition was realised when, in 1882, the *Swadesamitran* was started as a weekly. It was subsequently converted into a daily and has been doing splendid work. It is impossible to speak too highly of the share that the *Swadesamitran* has had in the political education of the masses in South India. The Silver Jubilee of the *Swadesamitran* was lately celebrated with much eclat and rejoicing, and Mr. Iyer was on the occasion the

recipient of many marks of appreciation and esteem from his constituents. Mr. Iyer has been and still is a prolific contributor to journals in all parts of the country, and his contributions are always perused with admiration and respect.

Mr. Iyer has been connected with the Indian National Congress ever since its birth. He was accorded the honour of moving the first Resolution in the first Congress. He has been a regular attendant of each session of the Congress and in almost every Congress, he has been entrusted with the task of moving important resolutions. In this connection, a few words might be said of Mr. Iyer as a speaker. Mr. Iyer is not exactly an orator, but those who have heard him at his best will readily acknowledge that he is a very vigorous and effective speaker, whether in English or in Tamil. Mr. Iyer's services in the cause of the country were recognised in the year 1902, when he was invited to preside over the deliberations of the Madras Provincial Conference held at Cocanada. His address on that occasion was a weighty pronouncement and a masterly survey of the economic situation of the country. Mr. Iyer was also invited to preside over the District Conference at Chittoor, held in September 1907, and his address at the Conference ought to be read by one for himself in order to be justly appreciated. Not less valuable was the address he delivered as President of the Tanjore District Conference in September, 1908. One other public function which Mr. Iyer discharged ought to be noticed. In 1898, when the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure sat in England, it was Mr. Iyer who was sent as the Madras delegate to give evidence before the Commission. The evidence which he gave was

very valuable and has been much admired for the grasp of public questions that it displayed.

His long association with the public life of this country and his experience of its disappointments have shaken his faith in the old 'mendicant' methods of agitation. He is an ardent Swadeshi and Boycotter. His services in connection with the Swadeshi movement are among the most valuable that he has rendered to the country. In spite of extreme ill-health, he has undertaken tours throughout South India and preached the gospel of Swadeshim to the masses, in the vernacular. What little of Swadeshi spirit exists in South India is due to him alone.

Mr. Iyer is one of the staunch friends of social reform in this country. He showed himself to be a social reformer of a practical type, when he remarried his widowed daughter, an act which for a time entailed social ostracism. In fact, his zeal in this direction brought him into deep waters. But as the ashes of the controversy died out, and Mr. Iyer's sincerity and public spirit became more and more manifest, he grew in favour and his popularity has now so revived that there is not one in South India whose word commands greater respect either among the masses or the educated classes.

Mr. Iyer was long connected with the Corporation of Madras.

Thus in many departments of life, Mr. Iyer has made his mark. He is now old in age and older by acute ill-health. But his public spirit and solicitude for the country are young and fresh as ever.

In the campaign of repression that ensued subsequent to the bomb affair, Mr. Subramania Iyer, as the most outspoken public man in South India, had his share of

the attentions of the Government. He was arrested on a charge of sedition in 1909. But the prosecution was, be it said to the credit of Government, withdrawn on certain conditions being acceded to by Mr. Iyer.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

Presidential Speech delivered by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer at the North Arcot District Conference in August 1907.

GENTLEMEN,—If the people of India were a multitude of savages, with no general intelligence, with no recollections of an honourable past, and no legacies of a great civilisation, British rule in India would be a success. But the Indian people are not such savages. In intellectual power they are more than a match to the ruling race; in character they are less remote from human perfection than the people of the Western world. They are proud of their ancient history, and cherish with jealousy the priceless treasure of Philosophy and Ethics that they have inherited. Their new contact with the outside world and the influences of modern civilisation have quickened their self-consciousness. They feel they do not deserve their present position in the community of nations, but are entitled to a much higher and more honourable place, capable of an important function in the evolution of humanity. In the earlier ages of human history, they opened paths for the advanced wisdom and knowledge to the ends of the world. They fulfilled a great mission and were the chosen instruments of Providence in the illumination of human ignorance and in the elevation of human nature; and now if they were only as free as they were once, they feel they would once again discharge a similar mission. How is it possible to rule a people with such history and such a prospect as Britain rules in India without producing serious evils? The present unrest is a stage in the growth of these evils,

which, I am afraid, will grow and become more serious, if the character of that rule is not changed. Peace and order, law and justice, public works and facilities of communication are the very essence of good Government, but these can never be a compensation for the evils of a foreign rule. These are indispensable in the interests of Government as well as of the people, and Government is as much under obligation to the people who pay the taxes as the people are to Government which applies the taxes to these purposes. The end of good Government is not merely to enable the people to live somehow, but to enable them to live well, to live a life of contentment and happiness of great purposes and high ideals. In proportion as British rule in India has failed to approach this end, that rule must be pronounced a failure.

What is the result of a century of British rule in India? Leaving aside what has been done for the maintenance of British supremacy, for the increase of revenues, and for the efficiency of administration, the result, from the people's point of view, may be summed up to be: destitution and disease, physical and moral emasculation, suffering and discontent. India has accepted foreign rule not without paying a very high price for it. She has mostly lost touch with her ancient civilisation, her arts and industries have been killed, her old social system has been shaken, her mental as well as bodily vigour is gone, and she is undergoing a process of denationalisation for which such benefits of modern civilisation as she is able to enjoy are hardly a compensation.

Some of these evils are inseparable from foreign rule, but some others are not. The colossal drain of wealth, heavy and oppressive taxation, unjust and

excessive military expenditure, the exclusion of Indians from the higher ranks of the public service, the monopoly of all authority by the bureaucracy, the general absence of sympathy, the pride and the exclusiveness of the ruling class, its ill-treatment of the people—these are evils which are not inseparable from British rule. These have made it unpopular and have been aggravated in their effect by the reactionary designs of Lord Curzon against the educated classes, and by his autocratic manners. The present unrest was bound to come and is only the beginning of the troubles that are in store in the future. India is hundred times a more valuable possession to England than Ireland is. According to the late Mr. G. M. Maclean, there is not to-day a hamlet in the United Kingdom which does not depend for its means of subsistence on income derived from India. India is the foundation of England's power and influence in the world; and her possession of a dependency, whose resources of every description she can handle as she pleases, is essential for the maintenance of that power and influence. England will not, therefore, easily and voluntarily slacken its hold on India. England's interest is to keep India as its dependency, not as a member of the Empire on a footing of equality with the rest. In order that England may have the full benefit of its Indian possession, India must remain the Cinderella of the Imperial family. She must drudge and earn so that the Empire, as a whole, may pride in its power and roll on its wealth.

At the same time will India for ever remain content under the weight of the foreign yoke .

In the meanwhile, the present reactionary measures of Government are aggravating the prevailing discontent and the consequent unrest. The attitude of Mr. Morley is

most significant. It shows that the real background of British policy in India is the interest of England, upheld by her supreme authority. We thought that his appointment as Secretary of State for India ushered the dawn of a new era in the history of this country. We hoped that his liberalism would virtually kill the bureaucracy. On the other hand, the bureaucracy has killed his liberalism, and, to-day, he presents the unedifying spectacle of a person who can write and talk like a philosopher but, in action, is a stern despot. His ideal of Indian Government is despotism qualified by freedom of speech and liberty of the press. But this freedom and this liberty are in their turn limited by the Regulation of 1818 and the Special Ordinances of the Governor-General. In his treatment of India he has shown himself to be an Imperialist of the worst type. Of the educated classes, he has adopted the Anglo-Indian opinion that they are penniless patriots with no stake in the country, that they have nothing to lose but everything to gain by a revolution, that they are enemies of England, and that if they are entrusted with independent and responsible political power, the huge machinery of Indian Government will break to pieces in their hands within a week. That the sundried bureaucrat should speak like this we can understand; but that a philosopher and statesman should adopt it as his own, shows how race bias is apt to dominate the judgment of British statesmen. If this is what we have got from Mr. Morley, is there a chance of our getting anything better from others? We may conclude that every British statesman, no matter to what party or school he may belong, would be a Britisher, a British patriot first, and an Indian ruler afterwards.

After a century of their rule, enlightened and benevolent, our rulers have not the courage to place trust in our

loyalty. It is strange that the educated classes should be deemed the most disloyal, It is now almost the universal belief among Englishmen that education breeds disloyalty. If that were a fact, then our rulers, to be consistent, should close all Colleges and Schools and prohibit the establishment of private institutions. Of course they will do no such thing. However much they may tamper with education, it must be if it is worth imparting or receiving, such as will improve the understanding. If the understanding is improved, it would not tolerate an arbitrary and exclusive alien rule. Then the general ignorance or the actual disloyalty of the whole population becomes the two horns of the dilemma—obviously a most absurd and dangerous situation. But, as a fact, no such situation need arise. If Great Britain will only pursue a wise and honest policy, education will not breed disloyalty or discontent. Even under the present policy, I do not admit that there is disloyalty, though there is general discontent. To represent this discontent as sedition, disaffection, disloyalty and what not is the mischief of the "man on the spot." The "man on the spot," when he is alien, is the most dangerous and the least reliable person.—Yet a wise man, like Mr. Morley, has surrendered his own judgment before the selfish prejudice of the "man on the spot." "The man on the spot" has been the cause of more international troubles and international wrongs than the responsible rulers. Their species is growing in number and influence in India and is creating tremendous vested interests. The Anglo-Indian planter, the Anglo-Indian merchant and the Anglo-Indian official—each wields great influence in the Government of the country. Often they combine to present a powerful opposition to any measure calculated to affect their interests or advance

those of the people. Their opinions, their wants and their representations receive more prompt and sympathetic consideration from Government than those of the people. They are becoming powerful in England also. It is retired Anglo-Indians that inspire most of the London journals on Indian questions. Though they owe their position, knowledge and training to Indians, these are seldom utilised for the good of India. The recent events show what serious mischief they are capable of doing. They misled the Government in India and in England into a serious belief that India was on the eve of another mutiny, this time the originators and leaders of the mutiny being the educated classes. They succeeded in creating a panic to which Lord Minto and Mr. Morley both yielded and which drove them to punitive and repressive measures more worthy of Russia than England. Lord Curzon ruled the country entirely in their interests. A pronounced Imperialist that he was, he had faith only in Englishmen and believed that to be their subordinates was the Indian's lot. Between such a ruler and the people there was not much love lost, and in our quarrels, the Anglo-Indians took the side of the Viceroy. With the advent of the Liberal party to power was expected a change in the policy of the Government of India and when Mr. John Morley was announced as the Secretary of State for India, the Anglo-Indians began to charm him into a Tory. He has proved an extremely susceptible subject. Within twelve months, the philosopher statesman, the admirer of Burke and the disciple of Gladstone, has become a stern despot sanctioning, without hesitation, administrative methods of the worst Russian type. For sometime it appeared that Mr. Morley would overcome bureaucracy; but now the bureaucracy has overcome him and has taken him captive. His surrender

being complete, the bureaucracy is playing havoc with the people's liberties. The ferocious punishments inflicted by English magistrates on erring Indian editors show the temper of the ruling class.

The great question is, what are we to do in the face of such a situation? I for one have lost all faith in the old "mendicant policy." Nothing will be given to us simply as the result of our asking. To yield to public agitation is considered bad to the prestige of the Government, and do you think that the Government will grant to us substantial liberties voluntarily of their own accord? India is governed and will continue to be governed in the interests of the British plutocracy, but it will soon begin to be governed in the interests of the British labouring classes also. These latter now show sympathy with us; but as they come to understand Indian questions more clearly, they would see that the industrial as well as the political freedom of India was hostile to their interests. It may be assumed that Indian questions are better understood in England now than they were some years ago; but is there a greater disposition now to do justice to us and deal with us more fairly or generously than was the case formerly? Except the handful of Anglo-Indians in Parliament who are our friends, the bulk of the Radical Members and the whole Unionist Party have supported Mr. Morley. Mr. Gokhale went to England twice and addressed public meetings there and interviewed prominent politicians, including Mr. Morley. What beneficial results have followed his patriotic work? His work has not prevented Mr. Morley drawing the rope more tightly round our necks.

Mr. Morley, has no doubt, promised certain reforms which are expected to have the effect of reconciling

freedom of speech and writing with absolute rule. These reforms are (1) The expansion of the Legislative Councils, (2) the appointment of one or two Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State, and the institution of an advisory Council of Notables. Besides these, a Commission of Enquiry into the apportionment of military charges between India and England and another Royal Commission to examine the question of decentralisation of administration, have been promised. These two do not relate to the concession of political liberties to the people; they relate to administrative problems which will be solved with a view to the convenience of the administration. But the other three are of importance to us. To the appointment of one or two Indians in the Secretary of State's Council I do not attach much importance. The choice will be made by the Secretary of State in consultation with his Councillors and the Government of India. What sort of persons will be chosen we can well understand. Mr. Morley is being already warned against his choosing men who have identified themselves with the Congress. Indian notable men like His Highness the Aga Khan will be acceptable both to Anglo-Indians and to the Secretary of State. But such men will not command the confidence of the people; or the chance may fall on Indian civilians. But Indian civilians, though they may be expected to know more of their country and of the wants and wishes of their countrymen than the Anglo-Indian officials, still they will be officials and think and act like officials. If these Indian members were left to the choice of the people, say of the representative members of the various Legislative Councils, they, would be Indian representatives deserving of the name. But that is not going to be. Moreover, the India Council as Lord Curzon said, is often ignored by the Secretary

of State in the decision of important questions. What good can two Indians do amongst the twelve members constituting the Council—a Council which is ignored in regard to questions of Imperial policy and which, when consulted on purely Indian questions, only misleads the Secretary of State.

Indian members in the Executive Council of the Governor-General will be able to do much good. But Mr. Morley was significantly silent in his last Budget speech about this reform.

Nor will the proposed expansion of the Legislative Councils improve matters if, as Mr. Morley announced, the official majority is maintained. Whether the representative members be 10 or 20 will make no difference if their voice can be drowned in that of the official majority. You must know that official members are bound to vote with Government whenever necessary. The proposal of the Congress is that the representative members should be of the same number as the officials; and the President of the Council, the Governor-General, should have the power of veto over the decision of the majority, stating in writing his reason for exercising that power.

As regards the Advisory Council of Notables, I have grave suspicion as to the function it is really designed to fulfil. We have not been informed of the details of this proposal. These, when made known, may allay our suspicion. But the fact it is intended to be used as a medium of good understanding between Government and public, smells mischief. Are we sure that this Advisory Board or Council will not be used as a counterblast against the expanded Legislative Councils? What sort of "notables" will be chosen to constitute it can be safely predicted. Men like the Maharaja of Bobbili, Nawab Salimulla

and H. H. the Aga Khan are sure to be chosen; and does any body imagine that those will ever contradict the Government? They will anticipate or echo official views and their opinions will be used both in England and in India against those of the Congress. Will the Council meet periodically, will there be debates and will their opinions be expressed publicly—these are important points. If the opinions would be obtained privately by means of correspondence without a public debate—the mischief of such a procedure could well be imagined. If the notables were elected by their class and were merged in the Legislative Council, so that their opinions may be controverted on the spot, if necessary, by other Indian members nothing could be said against such an arrangement, though, even then, the value of their opinions will be discounted by the fact of their well-known weakness for official approbation.

What made Mr. Morley believe that the “notables” are the best medium of interpretation between the Government and the people, is a mystery. How can they be supposed to know more of the people, of the toiling millions, than the classes that now voice forth public opinion in the press, on the platform and in the Councils of Government? Have “Notables” like the Maharaja of Bobbili, more opportunities of mixing with the people and getting into contact with their mind and heart? Will the man in the street, the coolie in the market or the ryot at his plough, speak more freely and with greater confidence to them than they will do to the educated men of the middle class whom they recognise amidst themselves, whom they are familiar with whom they know to be in sympathy with them and to be working for them? Do the class of notables that Mr. Morley has probably in view ever take an interest

in public affairs, move with the people to know their wants and wishes, and study public questions? Have they ever worked for the people, shown sympathy with them, or upheld their interest against official encroachment? Their ambition is to win official favour and add titles to their names. Can Mr. Morley or any official honestly say that in the Councils of Government it is from the nominated notables that the best advice is obtained? When Lord Lamington acknowledged the valuable service rendered by the non-official members of his Council, when successive Viceroys and Provincial Governors did the same, they did not refer to the notables but to men like Mehta and Gokhale. Their loyalty prevents them—they are not ashamed to give out—from taking part in political movements. But have they taken part in other public movements—those for social or industrial or religious reform? Have they done anything to encourage our arts or literature? Do they endow public charities as their ancestors used to do? To court the company and good-will of the European official, to enjoy the flattery of favourites, and to revel in the pleasures of the zenana—this is their ambition in life. The aristocracy of India were never in her history a hereditary estate of the realm, and on the advent of the British they were ignored, and the educated classes were preferred as a medium of touch with the people so far as such touch was desired. What a contrast between the aristocracy of the West and that of the Indian aristocracy in modern days? Are the “notables,” the aristocracy, the titled men and the title-hunting men—are these recognised in other countries as the most reliable exponents of public opinion? Are they so recognised in England? If they were, why should the House of Commons be in constant friction with the House of Lords, which it wants either to

mend or end? Mr. Morley would be the last man to regard a Duke or a Lord as the best exponent of the working man's grievances. Why should he do so in regard to India? Surely, he has one conscience for England and another for this country.

The present repressive policy is really not so much an attempt to put down sedition as a campaign against the New Spirit. Swadeshi and Boycott have really frightened our rulers, whose ignorance and want of sympathy distort the situation in their imagination. It is only under the influence of vague apprehensions that the extreme repressive measures that are now employed are possible. But the new spirit will not be crushed and will, in due time, fulfil its purpose. The new spirit does not favour a policy on the part of the people of patient submission, but has its faith in a policy of passive resistance. Its aim is Swaraj, and its instruments are Swadeshim and Boycott. I have no doubt that Sir Roper Lethbridge echoed the general sentiment of the British nation when he wrote recently in an English magazine about the Swadeshi Movement as follows: "It is obviously impossible for any patriotic Englishman to assent to the Indian aspirations to the Swadeshi, for that would mean the absolute ruin of all British manufactures, starvation throughout Lancashire and the other manufacturing districts of England and Scotland and the destruction of British commerce." I do not think that Swadeshi means all this. India may realise the full benefits of successful Swadeshi and yet carry on a prosperous trade with the United Kingdom as a similar trade is carried on between that country and other parts of the world where Swadeshi or the protective system prevails. Swadeshi will redeem India from her present abject poverty and enable her to pursue a

career of manufacturing industry. Her unbounded natural wealth will supply all the wants of the people and will leave room for the manufacture of useful articles. She would then import foreign goods in exchange for her own exports as other countries do. Far from being ruined or exposed to starvation, England will gain from Indian aspiration to Swadeshi being fulfilled, because a prosperous India will buy as well as sell more articles. There will be then no boycott of foreign goods. Boycott is now necessary to remedy the evils of the "economic muddle," to use Mr. Naoroji's expression, into which British rule has landed India. Under normal economic conditions the indigenous industry of India will be sufficiently protected. The people will be prosperous and, while selling more of their own articles to foreign countries, will also buy more from them. India will then be free from the present unjust, unfair, and artificially supported foreign competition which is ruining her. In her trade with foreign countries, she will emerge from her present subjection and deal with the world on a footing of independence and equality.

Successful Swadeshi in India will injure British industry for a time. But we cannot help it. Self-preservation is the first law of national as well as individual life. We cannot be blamed if in trying to avert starvation to our own people we cause temporary injury to others. What injury our effort to improve our material condition may cause to England for a time will not be a fraction of the injury which England inflicted on this country in former times in her own industrial interest. In order to bolster up her nascent industries England ruined India, and has reduced a whole population to indigence and suffering. It was the wealth of India that English adventurers carried to

their country in the second half of the eighteenth century which made her inventions and discoveries in the industrial field bear fruit. She built machines and sold them to Europe ; she accumulated capital and lent them to foreign countries. People talk of India's obligations to England, but what about England's obligations to India ? It is true that these obligations arise without our being a willing factor in them. But they are obligations all the same. If gratitude is a part of international feeling England is a debtor to India.

In our present circumstances, boycott of foreign goods is necessary. Boycott is not different from Swadeshi, one necessarily implying the other. You cannot be a Swadeshi without being a boycotter, because your preference for indigenous goods implies a reverse or dislike for foreign goods. This feeling has indeed no relation to the manufacturers or the articles themselves. The manufacturers may be estimable persons in our opinion ; and we may appreciate the quality of the articles. But this does not constitute the motive of our action ; the motive being our desire to protect the industries of our country, our love of the Motherland and our readiness to make sacrifices for it.

The meaning and scope of the Boycott movement are misunderstood by some people. It is a weapon suggested by expediency ; it is not a moral or religious injunction. It involves no obligation of consistency or universality. The argument often adduced by the opponents of the Boycott, movement, namely, if you boycott foreign cloth, consistency requires you must boycott foreign yarn also ; and the argument that as you cannot do the latter you need not do the former also has no force. Again it is said if you boycott cloth you must boycott

sugar, cutlery and every foreign import which you cannot, and therefore boycott is not a practical movement. Are you prepared, it is asked, to boycott English books, English railways, English medicines, etc. The reply is, we are bound to do no such thing. "Boycott foreign goods" is not a moral canon like "Speak the truth." You are bound to speak the truth always apart from any consideration of person or circumstances. But in regard to boycott no such obligation arises. It has a particular object in view, and to the extent that boycott can be employed to compass that object, it is a useful and legitimate weapon and should be used by all lovers of the country. We have no indigenous substitute for all imported articles. But for some of these we have, and let us now by all that is sacred in our filial duty to our Motherland abstain from the use of these articles. The indigenous substitutes may be a little more costly, may not be equally nice or suitable, still for the sake of our starving brethren we should make a sacrifice and put up with discomfort and inconvenience. We will rather go about in rags than appear fashionable in foreign clothes. We will rather use indigenous brown sugar than the foreign refined sugar; we will use brass, copper and other metallic vessels made by our artisans rather than the enamelled vessels imported from Europe; we will walk in the streets bare-footed and bare-headed than use English patent shoes and felt caps. Selecting such foreign articles as can be boycotted though with some sacrifice, let us boycott them altogether. Gradually the scope will be extended so as to include other foreign articles. Our prominent men should set the example and constantly preach Swadeshi and Boycott to the people. Let Swadeshi and Boycott be held before them as a guiding principle, and gradually the people will be educated, and the accumulated effect of boycott

by a whole nation will tell. Meanwhile, our struggling industries should be helped and strengthened; fresh industries should be started; capital should be mobilised and labour educated and trained. Swadeshi and Boycott carried on by the voluntary efforts of the people, are features of an abnormal economic condition, and will cease as soon as these conditions become normal as they are in other countries. So long as we are in a state of industrial subjection and the foreign Government is unwilling to afford direct protection to our industries, Swadeshi and Boycott must be our weapons. We will have to go back, if necessary, along some lines of the advance we have made in Western civilisation. Our tastes and habits will have to be changed. At home and in schools, in the press and on the platform, the lessons of Swadeshi and Boycott must be preached. It may take a decade or two for our endeavours to bear fruit. But we must persevere.

At its last session at Calcutta, the Congress adopted a resolution to the effect that in the Province of Bengal boycott was a legitimate weapon, because the people had no voice in Government and their representations were persistently unheeded. Is not the same a legitimate weapon in other parts of India? Have the people here a voice in Government or are their representations heeded? Are the people of Madras better off in this respect than their brethren of Bengal? Let Cocanada and Rajahmundry answer. If constitutional agitation is fruitless, if the liberty of criticism is sedition, what help have we against repression and tyranny? Resentment, retaliation—whatever you may call it—is a provision of nature, is a factor in moral economy. Rishis and Sadhus may proscribe it; but in the affairs of ordinary mortals it has its own value. A man that cannot

or will not resent, retaliate, will fare very badly indeed in this wicked world. So a nation that submits with resignation to tyranny or wrong, or resorts to no effective means of resistance, will have an exceedingly bad lot! We can only resort to passive resistance of aloofness from an unsympathetic despotic Government. Not only are we treated like slaves in our own country, worse than slavery is the lot of our countrymen in British Colonies. For the barbarous and malicious treatment they receive in Natal and the Transvaal we hold our rulers responsible. They care more for the nominal attachment of the Colonies to the mother country than for the good-will and contentment of the Indian people, whose cruel persecution by a handful of whitemen they therefore tolerate. Yet all the Colonies put together are not worth to England a single province of India. At the same time, they allow to the Colonists all the rights and privileges of Englishmen in India. They enter our Civil and Military service, they enjoy every facility for trade and industry; they lord it over the Indian people, and are as exclusive and arrogant as the Anglo-Indians are as a class. How can we show any sincere sympathy with such a Government? We should decline all titles and honours offered by Government, and all honorary offices too. The agitation of the vine growers of France resulted in the resignation of a large number of Municipalities; and the police-ill-treatment of the Headmaster of the Municipal School at Pandarpur similarly led to the resignation of all the non-official members of the Municipality. If the Indian members of the Cocanada Municipality had done so when, in spite of their hurried and undignified protestation of innocence, Sir Arthur Lawley sanctioned the establishment of punitive police amidst them, they would

have afforded substantial proof of their disapprobation and resentment of the insult offered to them. Instead of doing so, the loyal citizens of Cocanada held a belated public meeting to protest "most humbly and respectfully" and indulged in jejune murmurs. What good did it bring? They merely made themselves contemptible in the minds of the Anglo-Indians. It is true that if one resigns an honorary office another will be ready to take it up. Let him. He will be a marked man, and public opinion will mark him as a renegade. More honourable and self-respecting men will keep aloof and their procedure will be an example to others. Nor does an attitude of this kind on the part of the people imply hatred of British rule or disaffection or disloyalty. It only means disapprobation in a form most effective under present circumstances. When we get Swaraj or something very near it, boycott, as a political weapon, will cease. There is yet another kind of boycott which we should resort to, to strengthen our endeavours at national advancement. I mean social boycott, by which society will keep aloof from those renegades, tale-bearers, sycophants, corrupt officials, Government spies, and the rest of that contemptible species. When any one of our countrymen is found to behave in a manner detrimental to our national interest, he should be boycotted. None in the world know better than the Hindus how to wield the weapon of social ostracism.

Gentlemen, you know that Americans were subjected to the same treatment while they were dependent on England, and it was to the Swadeshi and Boycott movement that they resorted to put an end to their troubles. We are indebted to Mr. Myron H. Phelps, B. A., LL. B., of the New York Bar, for the full and instructive account

he gives of this movement in his country in a letter addressed to his "Dear Brothers," the people of India, and published in the *Hindu* of July 29th. It deserves to be read carefully by every Indian who has been impressed by the present situation. Just as our numerous and flourishing textile industries have been destroyed for the benefit of Manchester manufacturers by the free importation of Manchester goods, precisely so, America had suffered industrial repression at the hands of England. Besides compelling the Colonists to sell their produce exclusively in British markets, they were obliged to buy such foreign articles as they were in need of entirely from the merchants and manufacturers of England. They were discouraged from manufacturing such articles as could be provided for them in the mother country. Lord Chatham declared in his place in Parliament, "that the British Colonists of North America had no right to manufacture even a nail or a horse-shoe. Another British statesman said, "The only use of American Colony or of West India Islands is the monopoly of their consumption and the carriage of their products. To manufacture like England was esteemed a sort of forgery, punishable like an imitation of British coin. A close watch was therefore kept on industry in the Colonies, governors were instructed to discourage all manufactures, and where manufactures were once started in the Colonies, they were rigorously repressed. In addition to these enactments in restraint of commerce and trade, Parliament levied taxes upon the American Colonies, both customs and internal taxes, such as stamp dues. These were resisted on the ground that taxes ought only to be levied by a governing body in which the people taxed had representatives. "No taxation without representation" became a political warcry.

Such was, in brief, the nature of the grievances of the American Colonies against England; and the manner in which they fought their grievances, Mr. Phelps tells us, was by the refusal to buy English goods, that is, precisely by an American Swadeshi movement. Agreements were drawn up and presented for signature to all the principal citizens of the different Colonies, by which the signers agreed "not to import, purchase, or make use of certain articles produced or manufactured out of North America, such as teas, wines and liquors, all superfluities, and in general all foreign manufactures. All over the country Committees of inspection were appointed consisting of diligent and discreet persons whose business was to make critical inspection and the conduct of all buyers and sellers of goods and to publish the names of all these who failed to adhere to the non-importation agreements with a view that such persons might be exposed to the odium and resentment of the people. These Committees also recommended that all persons of means enter into subscriptions for setting up and carrying on the making of nails, stock-weaving and other useful branches of manufacture and every one, in his respective sphere of action, to encourage and promote industry and frugality. Any person found to have violated his agreement not to deal in imported goods had his name posted in hand bills through the town and published in the local papers, a proceeding, Mr. Phelps adds, usually followed by insults at least from the boys and the populace. About forty articles were enumerated in the pledge not to import, purchase or use, if produced or manufactured out of North America. Mr. Phelps gives two instances of individuals who having violated the agreement were publicly denounced and boycotted in the manner above indicated. In these cases, the Committee ordered that no trade,

commerce, dealing, or intercourse whatever be carried on with him, but that he ought to be held unworthy of the rights of free men, and inimical to the liberties of his country. "So you see, my friends," concludes this noble friend of India, that Swadeshi was an American before it was an Indian institution. It was successful in America in forcing to repeal the obnoxious British legislation, but its greatest value was in arousing the sense of patriotism and co-operation among the people." Thus Swadeshi in America included economic, political and social boycott.

At the last session of the Congress at Calcutta, a resolution was adopted recommending the inauguration of a national system of education. What is a national system of education? As I understand it, it should be a system of education which, while giving us full and efficient training in all practical pursuits of life, will prevent us from being denationalised, will keep us in touch, in spirit as well as in form, with our ancient civilisation and national characteristics and will make us a patriotic and self-respecting nation. It will enable us to assimilate all that is useful to progress in these days in Western civilisation and at the same time preserve our distinct nationality. Under such a system of education as I conceive it, more attention will be paid in schools and colleges to Western science than to Western literature, more attention to our own past history, to our religious and secular literature, to our national habits than to those of other countries. It will be in complete sympathy with and a faithful reflection of the inner spirit of the people, their thoughts and aspirations. It will respect, revive, and cultivate our arts and industries, our literature, our music, our sports and pastimes. It will inculcate habits of simplicity, gentleness, reverence and charity. It will inspire the minds of our youths with

reverence for our ancient and immortal sages and for their teachings. It will expound the divinity of our mother and the hallowed land of Rishis and Munis, the first preceptors of mankind, and instill a feeling of the profoundest reverence for her person and name and with filial gratitude for her unspeakable suffering and sacrifice for her multitudinous children and for the tenderness with which she has nursed them on her vast bosom during centuries of trouble and turmoil. Such is national education as I understand it. It is impossible that we can receive such education from foreigners. In their hands, it has made us a nation of quill-drivers and coolies. Our educated classes have added neither to the wealth of the country, nor to the moral strength of the nation. We have reason to feel ashamed of some of our educated countrymen in official service. They are corrupt, cowardly and unfaithful to the mother that gave them birth. They have sold their soul for a mess of pottage. They deliberately injure their country and bring trouble to their brothers simply that they may be in the good graces of their official superiors. Of many of our friends of the legal profession we have no reason to be proud. They are as bad as officials. To perpetuate such a state in the inner meaning of the policy of the present system of education, and with that view, education is being brought more and more tightly under European direction.

It is impossible that National Schools and Colleges can be started throughout the country all at once. The first thing that should be done is that the managers of aided Colleges and Schools as well as those un-aided should employ as professors and teachers none but Indians, who should be imbued with a full sense of their serious responsibility as builders of the nation's future and who should be men of high character, lofty principles and true.

patriotism. In many parts of India there are successful Colleges of which the teaching staff, including the principal is entirely Indian. In Calcutta there are several such Colleges, of one of which our esteemed countryman Babu Surendranath Banerjee is the principal. There is the Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, maintained by the Arya Samaj, and entirely under the management of Indians. I need not mention the Fergusson College of Poona, of which the professorial staff included until recently that staunch patriot, Mr. G. K. Gokhale. In our own part of the country, the first grade College at Vizianagaram owns an Indian graduate as the principal, and of second grade Colleges several are conducted by Indian graduates as principals. While such is the case, there is an inexplicable reluctance on the part of the managers of some aided Colleges, of which the principals have been till now Englishmen, to appoint Indians in their place when opportunity occurs. So far as I can see the objection to Indian principals does not come from students, who are quite willing to receive education from their own countrymen; but it comes from the managers themselves, who believe, quite erroneously, that under Indian Principalship the College will suffer inefficiency, in the face of the fact that every experiment in the contrary direction has proved a success. Often the inefficiency of the College is due to the inefficiency of the Committee of management and the defective equipment of the College itself. In Calcutta, Lahore and Poona, the purely Indian Colleges have stood with credit, competition with Government and Missionary Colleges; and where such competition does not exist, the Indian Colleges ought to succeed more easily. It cannot be contended that no competent Indians can be had to be at the head of a College, second grade or first grade, because no attempt has been made to get one. If the

managers advertise widely their intention to engage the service of an Indian graduate, a competent person will be forthcoming, I am sure, either in this presidency or in other parts of India. In other parts of India there are Indians who have graduated in British Universities and who will gladly take up the place in question if an appeal is made to their patriotism and if fair terms are offered to them. Our countrymen administer independent Native States as ministers, and administer British Districts as Collectors. They are heads of Departments and dispose of important and large interests. To say that no competent Indian can be had to manage a College only betrays want of courage and patriotism. As for enforcing discipline, we all remember the names of the late Gopala Row and Ranganadha Mudaliar, and certainly there are other Indians who will realise the standard of these well-known educationists, if opportunities were given to them.

The next thing that should be done is to establish one good and well-equipped first grade College in some suitable centre in each province after the model of the Central Hindu College at Benares, with this difference, that the National Colleges should be opened to all Indians without any distinction of caste or creed. I don't think we should fritter our resources in trying to establish different National Colleges in different districts.

As important as Colleges are primary schools and schools for industrial instruction and training. There is a proposal to make Primary Education free. But it should be made compulsory also. There is a danger in making Primary Education free. It will be brought more completely than ever under official control. Even at present when Government give small grants-in-aid to private institutions, it claims direct control which has not always a salutary effect. Official influence and the

influence of Christian Missionary bodies are making education un-national and unsuited to the requirements of the people. The education of our children should be entirely in our hands; it must be moulded, directed and inspired by the leading men of the nation, imbued with reverence for the past, a perception of the future and genuine and warm love of the Mother. Primary education, including the technical branch, should be placed under the management of local Committees consisting of the leading men of the place, who should fix the curriculum of studies, appoint teachers, and administer the finance. Government will preserve its touch with primary education by the local educational officer being an ex-officio member of the Committee. Government will place what fund it can spare for the purpose, and, if necessary, a small educational cess can be levied to supplement Government aid. The great advantage of thus localising the direction of Primary education is that it will make it harmonise with local sentiments and local wants. It will enlist the true sympathy and interest of the people and will spontaneously spread itself over the country. Primary education does not spread at present, because it is out of touch with popular sentiment and requirements being entirely under foreign direction. Governments should have nothing to do with this branch of education beyond supplying the funds and inspecting the schools periodically with a view to obtaining information and tendering advice.

"Has the Swadeshi movement succeeded?" is the question asked by many a sceptic mind. Persons, in a hurry to arrive at conclusions, are doubtful about it and others, in whose case the wish is father to the thought, assert that it is a failure and will never succeed. But the facts are against both. It must be remembered that

the movement is hardly two years old and is now in its initial stage. Yet, wherever it has been earnestly pursued, it has been followed by successful results. From Bengal a most gratifying testimony comes of its undoubted success. Our esteemed countryman, Babu Surendranath Banerjea, said in a recent speech, "Boycott is the negative and Swadeshi is the positive aspect of the same question. They are indivisible parts of the same common whole and I, for my part, am not prepared to separate them. Triumphs of Swadeshi are writ large in our history. Home articles are steadily making their way. Foreign articles are being steadily displaced. The status of the weaver has greatly improved. The whole atmosphere is surcharged with industrial spirit. Craving for service is fast disappearing. Passion for the study of science is steadily on the increase. Altogether, the situation is most hopeful." Making allowance for the well-known optimistic spirit of this veteran servant of the nation, no one can deny that the observations are on the whole well founded. A less biassed testimony comes from an Anglo-Indian quarter. Writing on the first annual report of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the *Empire* newspaper says: "We are told that the Swadeshi movement was responsible for a diminution of 68·4 per cent. in the imports of salt from the United Kingdom. The growing competition of imported liquor with country spirit received a severe check from the Swadeshi movement, when pressure was put on licensed vendors to close their shops. The report goes on to express the opinion that this check is not likely to be more than temporary, and this opinion is (according to the *Empire*,) probably the correct one. At the same time, these figures bear out the reports on the trade both of Calcutta and Chittagong, which show a falling off in the imports of English goods

during the year following the partition of Bengal; and, taken in conjunction with these, they indicate the beginning of a tendency, which, if it continues, will exercise a profounder influence upon the British position in India, than all the seditious newspapers and agitators put together. It must be remembered that the boycott, started two years ago, was a more or less hasty device. It was adopted under the influence of the anger excited by the partition of Bengal. It was not carefully thought out, and yet has made a notable impression on the trade statistics of the year. We can only conclude that if the propaganda of the boycott is ever organised upon business lines, it will raise problems which may defy the highest statesmanship to solve." I don't know what boycott on business lines means. But no national movement began with careful calculations, and boycott was suddenly and at a bound as it were embraced by the nation without reasoning or calculation. The popular mind had for sometime been in a ferment, stirred to serious thoughts of the country's needs and conditions, and filled with the earnest aspiration to lift her out of the depth of degradation under which she lay rotting. At such a time the idea of boycott was started, and the national mind caught at it involuntarily and with eagerness. The Registrar of the Joint-Stock Companies of Bombay records, as we recently learnt from the newspapers, that of the new Companies, 25 belonged to trading, mostly trading, in Indian-made articles. Of the rest to be noted are 2 printing presses, 7 spinning and weaving mills, 5 presses, 1 for growing cotton and other fibres, 4 Banking, 1 Insurance and 2 for Navigation with a nominal capital of 57,008,200 rupees (or nearly 6 crores.) This is a most gratifying record. Our own Presidency has not altogether lagged behind. Of

the various Swadeshi efforts, big and small, I need mention only two, the Indian Bank of Madras and the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company of Tuticorin. From what I have seen and learnt of the people's feeling at the present moment, I have no doubt that the movement is rapidly spreading and will produce wider and more substantial results as years roll on. Swadeshi and boycott is our sole means of salvation. We will stick to it, and no official persecution will drive us out of our path.

England is proud that she rules India in a manner so benevolent, so liberal and so generous that no other example of such liberality, etc., could be found in the world. While acknowledging some valuable benefits that British rule has conferred upon India, we, Indians, demur to the hyperbolic estimate which some Britishmen, Lord Curzon notably among others, are wont to form of their own rule and achievements in India. There is no reason to believe that the Frenchmen or the Russians or the Dutchmen would not have done as well as or even better than Englishmen as rulers of India. Certainly if America would rule India with the same spirit in which she is ruling some of her Island possessions, India would be more happy materially and would enjoy a higher political status. When the United States took possession of the Philippine Islands, they did so in a truly noble spirit and prompted by highly philanthropic motives.

It was not assumed that the people of the Philippine Islands were an inferior race and therefore incapable of Self-Government. In urging the recognition of the South American Republics, in 1822, Henry Clay declared: "But it is sometimes said that they are too ignorant to admit of the existence of free government, I contend that it is

to arraign the disposition of the Almighty to suppose that He has created beings incapable of governing themselves. Self-Government is the natural government of men." And Mr. Lincoln said : " No man is good enough to govern another without the other's consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet anchor of American Republicanism ;" and John Hay once said speaking of Self-Government : " No people are fit for anything else."

And in words that are directly applicable to the present crisis, Mr. Lincoln said : " These arguments that are made, that the inferior races are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying ; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow ; what are those arguments ? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world ; you will find that all the arguments in favour of kingcraft were of this class. They always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better for being so ridden. That is their argument. It is the same old serpent that says, " You work and I eat, you cook and I will enjoy the fruits of it. " Turn in whatever way you will whether it come from the mouth of the king, an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent. "

The instructions of President William McKinley contained the following :—

" In all the forms of Government and administrative provisions which they are authorised to prescribe, the Commission should bear in mind that the Government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views,

but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people, of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with their accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective Government." This was not all President McKinley himself, on another occasion, said :—" The Philippines are ours, not to exploit but to develop, to civilise, to educate, to train, in the science of Self-Government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us."

Finally we, Indians, have great faith in the moral evolution of the world and of the great principles of justice, recompense and redemption, governing the destinies of human communities. No people on earth can be doomed to eternal degradation and the Indians, once the favoured race of the Gods, will yet achieve their regeneration, will be once again the same honoured, beneficent race in the world that they were in times of yore. Human communities can no longer be divided as superior and inferior races, as the master and the slaved races, as the races exploiting and the races exploited. They are rapidly coalescing into a human family of which the members possess equal rights and are bound by mutual obligations.

To revivify the mind of Asia, to set it working again along new lines of rich productivity, to help it in the achievement of moral and material well-being, might be Europe's gift to it. And for this gift Europe might have its full equivalent. The contemplative mind of Asia gave to sluggish Europe in past ages the great momentum in religion and philosophy and in science and arts. Even in its sleep or what appears to Europe the sleep of many centuries, as Mr. Hobson says, "Asia may have had its

noble and illuminative dreams." The reasons of the West may yet need the insight of the East. A union so profitable in the past may not be barren in the future.

I now come to the question of Swaraj. Is it only a noonday dream or is it a practical object of our national ambition? There are people who believe that India is unfit for Home Rule or Swaraj, because its people are not homogeneous, and with its variety of castes and creeds and languages Home Rule would be impossible. There may, indeed, be some difficulty in the beginning. But Englishmen who cry, "The Duma is dead. Long live the Duma," are not the men to insist on initial difficulties. Surely, to say the very least, India is as homogeneous as the Russian Empire and has, in every way, a unity, the like of which has no existence anywhere in that Empire.

Who are they that say that the people of India are not fit for Swaraj? The English people say so, those who profit by India's subjection say so. But it is an old cry.

It was raised against the middle class in England, it was raised against the mechanics of the great towns; it was raised against the country rustics, it is now being raised against women, and in every case it was raised and is raised by the people in possession who did not and do not want to lose their power. Foreign observers, with a sufficient insight into the social conditions of the country, do not think that our variety of castes and creeds is an obstacle to the growth of nationality.

What are the conditions which are favourable to the growth of a nationality? There can be no greater authority than Mill. He says in his *Representative Government*; "A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality, if they are united among themselves by common sympathies, which do exist among them and not any others

—which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same Government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by several causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language and community of religion generally contribute to it. Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents; the possession of a history and consequent community of recollections, collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past. None of these circumstances, however, are either indispensable or necessarily sufficient by themselves." But it will be seen that none of these causes are absent, although they exist in a more or less weak state. The Indian people of whom the great bulk are Hindus are bound together by identity of race and descent: they have a community of language in Sanskrit and English, community of religion in the Vedas and Shastras and in their Puranas and their mythology, in a common literature, common traditions and common domestic and personal habits. That we have identity of political antecedents, a national history and community of recollections, nobody will deny. But the strongest of the ties that hold and have held the Indian people together are their geographical position and their religion. As regards the former, Indians may be said to resemble Italy. "Among Italians," to quote Mill again, "an identity far from complete of language and literature, combined with a geographical position which separates them by a distinct line from other countries, and perhaps more than every thing else the possession of a common

name, which makes them all glory in the past achievements in arts, arms, politics, religions, science, and literature of any who share the same designation, give rise to an amount of national feeling in the population which, though still imperfect, has been sufficient to produce the great events now passing before us notwithstanding a great mixture of races, and although they have never, in either ancient or modern history, been under the same Government, except while that Government extended or was extending itself over the greater part of the known world." This description almost wholly applies to India. India is separated from the rest of the world by huge, natural barriers, by lofty mountains and wide seas, and forms a distinct continent by itself. It has accordingly developed common antecedents in history and traditions. And then India and the Hindu religion are synonymous. There is no Hinduism outside India, and no India outside Hinduism. These two are the strongest and the most enduring foundation, the rockbed of Indian patriotism and nationality. There is no section of the Hindu people who would not make heavy sacrifice for the gratification of being under the same political constitution which embraces within its cognition India's sacred rivers, her holy shrines and places of pilgrimage, the birthplace of the Vedas and Shastras, the scenes of the Mahabharata, of Buddha's emancipation, the forts and rocks on which Asoka carved his immortal edicts, the royal court of King Bhoja where the nine literary gems shed their lustre; the ruined site of Delhi—the Rome of India—the Taj Mahal, and the numerous ancient cities associated with countless recollections of achievements in religious reform, in philosophy, heroism, poetry and art. The present condition of the Indian people fully satisfies Mill's definition of Nationality.

Indians are a portion of mankind "united among themselves by common sympathies which do exist between them and not any others—which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same Government and desire that it should be Government by themselves or a portion of themselves, exclusively."

If British rule in India has made our people poorer than they were before, and if it has caused physical and moral emasculation, it has also created forces that make for a greater solidarity of our nation. For centuries together, in medieval times, the Hindu nation spread over the immense area of the continent without easy means of communication, ruled by numerous rulers more or less independent, was divided into isolated communities without a living, cementing force to weld them into an organic whole. There were, indeed, then as there are now the gems of nationality, a common faith, a common literature, common traditions, and a common Motherland. But of these the people had but a vague and dim consciousness.

It would be of course wrong to say, as Anglo-Indians say, that the Indian communities were as divided as the European nations were in the middle ages. There was always the common religious faith that bound together in mutual sympathy the more intelligent and active elements of the people in different parts of the country; and then during the centuries when it was distracted by political convulsions, diplomatic communications, open and secret, were constantly kept up between rulers ruling in distant parts. India is prominently the land of holy cities and Benares in the North of India and Rameswaram in the South, Jaganath in the East and Girnar in the West, as

holy cities in the four corners of the continent, preserved a constant stream of pilgrims who traversed the country in large numbers and disseminated common ideas and spread common sympathies. Nay, more. Is it not said that the religious mendicants were the cause of scattering seeds of disaffection against British rule throughout Northern and Central India on the eve of the Mutiny? It is not true therefore to say that prior to the establishment of British rule, the Indian people lived in communities—utterly isolated and estranged from each other. To a certain extent circulation of common influences that tended to, there was a constant petulance the germs of a common sentiment of nationality. But the operation of these influences was confined mostly to the surface of society; it did not touch the strata at the bottom, as it is possible for the modern civilisation to do, along numerous and far-reaching channels. The inestimable gift of a common medium of communication, the medium of the English language, we owe to British rule and to the same British rule we owe the equally inestimable boon of a rapid and cheap means of intercourse. And then there is the Press which, conducted in English as well as in the vernacular language, is rapidly becoming a powerful instrument of progress and is constantly widening its sphere of influence. Add to these the common Government whose laws all of us loyally obey. These numerous forces are rapidly effacing the old condition of isolation and binding in one common tie of fellowship even the lower strata of the different communities, of the Hindustanis and the Dravidians, the Bengalis and the Maharattas. Every day a hundred causes arise to strengthen and diffuse the commenting effect of every one of the forces at work over broad areas. The larger and smaller forces act and re-act on one another.

The uniting force of common Government brought the Indian National Congress into existence. It set in circulation a broad current of common feeling throughout the length and breadth of India. Though the direct influence of the Congress is confined to the upper and more intelligent classes; still while the English section of the Indian Press keeps in evidence the new sentiment of nationality and stimulates the common sympathies it has created among these classes, the Vernacular Press carries the fertilising matter to the obscurest village along numerous auxiliary streams branching off from the mother river, by means of a thousand branch rivers and channels like the arteries of the living frame.

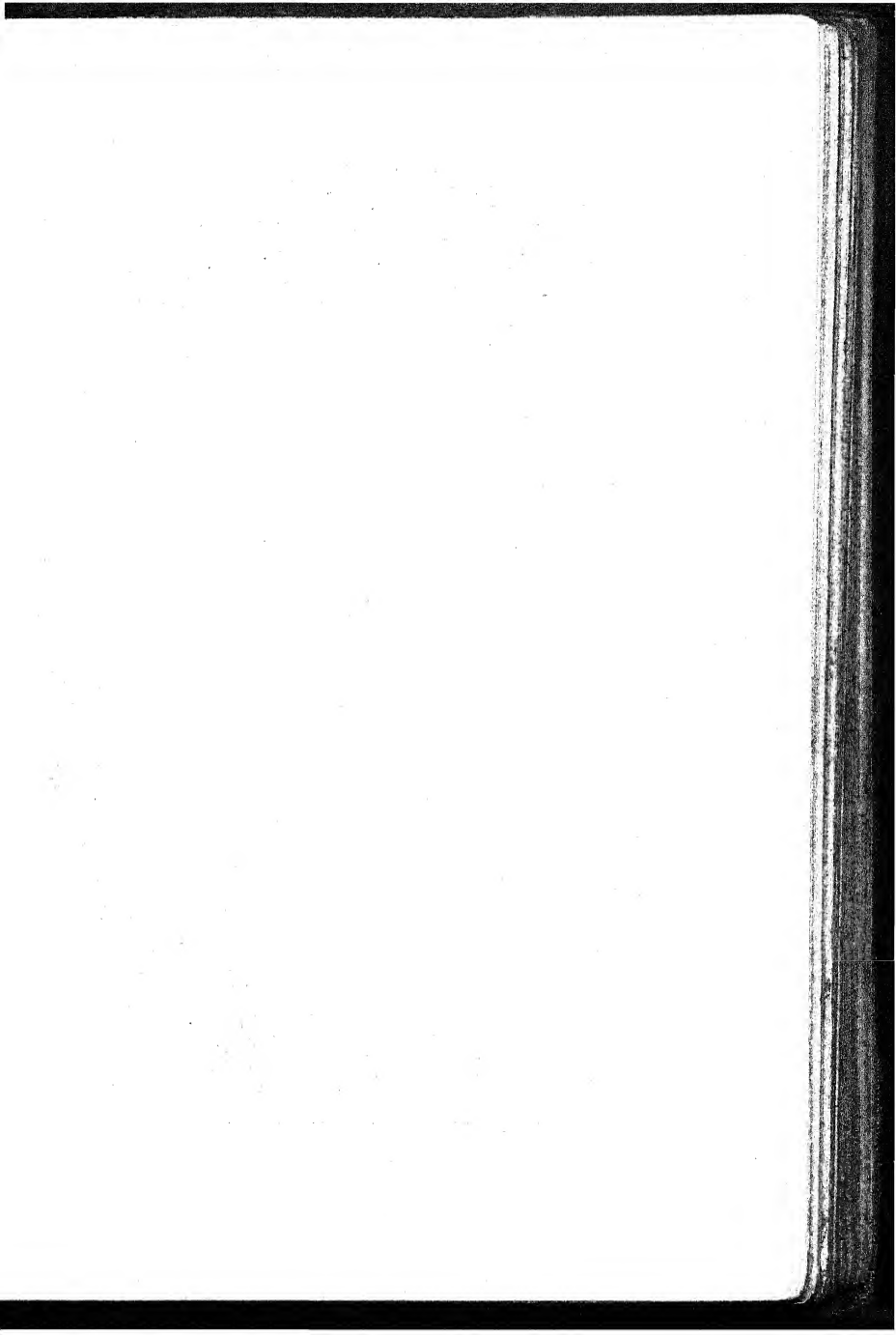
British statesmen are not therefore right in thinking that British rule in India must be for ever practically an absolute despotism. Such predictions about a nation's future are, as a rule, unsafe, especially in regard to a people like the Indians who have more than once in their long and chequered history shown themselves capable of self-assertion. In more than one instance the apparently dry bones in the valley have become instinct with life, and the fresh born vitality has sufficed to emancipate the country from exotic, uncongenial incumbrances. Under the British there is a greater probability of this revolution occurring than there was in any other period of Indian history in the past. Already the writing on the wall is visible, and British statesmen are opening their eyes and trying to read the signs aright.

The historian Seeley says that revolutions are not caused by populations which had sunk deeper than certain depths. Great populations are seen covering in abject misery for centuries together, he says, but they do not rise in rebellion; no, if they cannot live they die, and if they can only just live, then they just live, their sensibilities

dulled and their very wishes crushed out by want. Fortunately, though the condition of the Indian people is miserable enough on the whole, they have not sunk so low as the populations described above. There is vitality in them, which can be blown into living fire by favourable conditions and which enables them to look up to hope, and to feel its strength. "If India does begin, on the other hand, to breathe as a single national whole," Seeley says—"and our own rule is perhaps doing more than ever was done by former Governments to make this possible—the moment that another mutiny is but threatened, which shall be no mere mutiny but the expression of a universal feeling of nationality, at that moment all hope is at an end—as all desire ought to be at an end, of preserving our Empire." But will there be another mutiny like that of 1857? It is to be regretted that a historian like Seeley should contemplate only two alternatives as the culmination of British rule in India—a covering, abject and lifeless multitude, or a people roused to a sense of common nationality and goaded to rebellion against its connection with England. Is a peaceful and mutually profitable solution not possible? *England would be nothing apart from her Indian connection, and India cannot fulfil her destiny without England's help.* The relation between the two countries should cease to be that of the ruler and the ruled, the exploiter and the exploited, must be transformed into one friendly union based on the mutual advantages of commercial intercourse. "In the accomplishment of such a consummation every friction, every obstacle, and every hostile factor should be gradually removed, until the Indian nation develops its own state which will be the organ of its will and spirit and the instrument of its honour and good name. The guarantees for such an honourable and

glorious future lie in the highest laws governing the moral evolution of the human race, in the birthright of nations to equality and freedom like that of individuals, and in the fulfilment of the national as of the individual Karma. Our nation builders should not attach much importance to the promises and pledges of the British nation, nor to its sense of justice and generosity "for we see this can be easily set aside or explained away, England having one conscience for herself and for her people and another for us Indians. We take our stand on our right as a civilised people—people who once discharged a momentous mission in human civilisations and still pursue their evolution in future years without break in its continuity. Our consciousness of our past enables us to develop our own ideal. Other nations had other ideals in the past and the Western nations of the present day pursue ideals of their own. The Egyptian and the Chaldean, to quote an American writer, Mr. Gedding, created the ideals of pleasure loving men; China, Russia, and Gudea of self-denying and austere men; India, of the rationally conscientious men;—who in Hindustan is contemplative and passionate; in Japan, sensitive; in Greece, appreciative of every form of truth and beauty; in Rome, constructive and in the West, scientific—in England, individualised, farther in France socialised, in America, where West again becomes East, universalised. Egypt and Babylonia created the national ideals of power and splendour; Iran and Judea of ceremonial righteousness. Greece created the ideal of citizenship; Rome the ideal of justice; England has created the ideal of civil liberty; France the ideal of social equality; America is slowly but surely creating the ideal of a broad and perfect agency, in which liberty and equality shall for all time be reconciled and combined. But the

ideal that India will build will be one comprehending and transcending all these, the ideal of universal peace and contentment, of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, of the subordination of matter to the spirit of spiritual happiness as the only sure and enduring happiness.





HON. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

One adequate support

*For the calamities of mortal life
Exists—one only: an assured belief
That the procession of our fate howe'er
Sad or disturbed is ordered by a Being
Of infinite benevolence and power,
Whose everlasting purposes embrace
All accidents, converting them to good.*

—WORDSWORTH.

THE Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, comes of an orthodox and respected family of Brahmans who originally belonged to Malwa. One of his ancestors migrated from Malwa for Allahabad nearly four hundred years ago. The family has produced renowned Sanskrit scholars and authors for the last several generations. Pandit Braj Nath, the father of the subject of this sketch who passed away only a year ago at a ripe old age, leaving several sons and daughters, was one of the best scholars of his time. He was a reputed preacher whose popular exposition of the *Srimat Bhagvat* and other *Puranas* was much appreciated by high and low alike. And such princes as the late Maharajah of Durbanga and the late Maharajah of Benares were among those who paid reverence to him and regarded him as almost a *guru* for his learning and piety. He produced several notable devotional works in Sanskrit, some of which

have lately been published by his dutiful son. The family was never in affluent circumstances and it was at no small sacrifice that Pandit Braj Nath educated his several children. And it was his good fortune to live to see the fruits of his self-abnegation in the career of at least one of his sons.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is his father's third son. He was born in his ancestral home at Allahabad on the 25th December, 1861, and it was at his forty-eighth year that he assumed the distinguished office of President of India's non-official Parliament. Born and bred up at Allahabad, Pandit Madan Mohan's love of and devotion to his native city has never known any bounds.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya received his education first in two Sanskrit Pathashalas—the Dharma Jnanopadesh Pathshala and next the Vidya Dharma Vardhini Sabha, and later sent to an English School. He passed his Entrance Examination from the Allahabad Zilla School and then joined the Muir Central College. As a student he began to take a warm interest in public questions, religion and education being his favourite themes. And to this day the two spheres of national life to which he is most drawn are religion and education. He was among the founders of the Allahabad Literary Institute and of the Hindu Samaj. Pandit Madan Mohan's career as a student was not a particularly brilliant one. He passed the Entrance Examinations of the Calcutta University (there was then no Allahabad University) in 1879, and F. A. in 1881, and he graduated in 1884. It was not till seven years later that he became an LL. B., while he discontinued his studies sometime after he had joined the M. A. class without waiting to take the degree.

Not being well to-do enough to remain a student after he became a B. A., Pandit Madan Mohan took up the post of an Assistant Master in the Government High School at Allahabad towards the end of 1884. He remained in the position till about the middle of 1887 on a salary of between Rs. 50 and Rs. 75, and it is interesting to recall that among his students was his distinguished townsman Dr. Satish Chandra Banerjee, though for a brief period only. Another noteworthy fact which may be recalled with interest in these days of strict prohibitions and rigid discipline is that his being a Government servant did not stand in the way of his participation in political movements; why, he spoke at the Congress itself while a Government official, and his *guru*, Pandit Adityaram, always an independent man, was also a delegate to the Calcutta Congress of 1886, though he was at that time Professor in the Muir Central College. Those seem to have been days of mild rule indeed.

Work in connection with the National Congress, of which more presently, brought Pandit Madan Mohan in contact with the late Rajah Rampal Singh of Kala-Kankar, who was proprietor of the paper called the *Hindustan*, and on the Rajah who had always a kindly feeling for the Pandit, offering him the editorship of the paper. Mr. Malaviya relinquished the teachership for the place of editor and joined his new post in the middle of 1887, though reluctantly for he really regarded the profession of teacher as a sacred one and he at all gave it up only because he believes that journalism is only another form of educational work. He remained editor of the *Hindustan* for two years and-a-half his salary being Rs. 200. He conducted the paper with marked ability and moderation, so much so that an

acknowledgment was made of its public usefulness in the Government Administration Report itself. Pandit Madan Mohan's direct connection with journalism did not stop on his giving up the editorship of the *Hindustan*. He became editor of the *Indian Union*, an independent organ of Indian opinion with which the honoured name of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath was associated, and did not a little for that paper in collaboration with the esteemed townsman, Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave. His connection with *Indian Union* was kept up though not exactly as editor, till its incorporation with the *Advocate* of Lucknow. Babu Brahmanda Sinha, at present, Secretary of the Upper India Couper Paper Mill of Lucknow, was the editor of the *India Union* in its later stages. Pandit Madan Mohan's interest in journalism and faith in the Press as a powerful factor in the formation of public opinion and in influencing the course of administration have not abated in the course of years. Only some years ago he felt so much the evil to the community at large and to the rising generation in particular, of the onrush of ideas paraded as advanced but really suicidal to the progress of the country, which a section of the Press has taken to propagate with less wisdom than energy, that he started the weekly Hindi paper the *Abhyudaya* and laboured hard to make it informing and instructive by himself contributing numerous articles to its columns. The *Abhyudaya* has made excellent progress since it was started and has done a deal of public service, but its proprietor has been out of pocket to a considerable tune on its account. It is intended to extend its usefulness by issuing it twice a week, and it is to be hoped that the bi-weekly *Abhyudaya* may soon be an accomplished fact. How keenly Pandit Madan Mohan felt the need of an "English Daily" at Allhabad to voice the opinions and ventilate the grievances of the people of

the Provinces, and how zealously he worked to bring the *Leader* into existence are facts too recent and too well known to need stating at length.

While he was conducting the *Hindustan* he was pressed by men for whom he had the highest regard and who took a warm personal interest in the young man's rise, to qualify himself for the Bar. Among these were Mr. A. O. Hume of whom Pandit Madan Mohan was a great favourite and at whose feet it is his pride to have sat. The late Pandit Ajoodhia Nath, the late Rajah Rampal Singh and Pandit Sunder Lal, who then as now, was a great friend of his. Pandit Madan Mohan himself was reluctant to a degree to become a pleader. The bent of his mind was for public work particularly in the fields of religion and education—and money-making as such had no attraction for him. But he was prevailed upon to overcome his unwillingness to become a lawyer, and he accordingly joined the law classes when he was editing the *Hindustan*. He took his LL. B. degree in 1891 and joined the High Court in 1893. Pandit Ajoodhia Nath once complained to Mr. Hume that since he had taken to the study of law, Pandit Madan Mohan's interest in Congress work rather slackened. "Quiteright," said the old man with fatherly solicitude, "he must concentrate all his attention on law." And turning to Pandit Madan Mohan, Mr. Hume spoke somewhat as follows:—"Madan Mohan, God has endowed you with plenty of brains. Slave at the profession for ten years and you are bound to get to the top. Then your public usefulness will increase greatly owing to the position you will attain, and you can do much for the country." This piece of advice was never acted upon. The claims of various public works had always the lion's share of his time and attention, and though he has risen

creditably high in the profession and is recognised as a skilled and successful Advocate, he has never reached the first two or three places at the bar. This is entirely owing to his neglect of opportunities which came to him unsought. "Malaviya had the ball at his feet," one of the Indian leaders of the local bar said once, "but he refused to kick it."

We have said that even as a student Pandit Madan Mohan began to take an active interest in the public affairs of his country. The Allahabad Literary Institute served as his training ground. He founded the Hinda Samaj with others and was one of its most active members. Politics, too, were not left alone.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya joined the Indian National Congress in 1886 when its second session was held at Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Suddenly in the course of the proceedings when he heard other men speak, the feeling came to him that he might speak also, and encouraged by Pandit Adityaram, he made his first attempt. The man and the speech alike produced a favourable impression, and this is how Mr. Hume spoke of them in the Introduction to the Report of that year's Congress—one of those masterly essays by the way which we so much miss in Congress Reports of later years:—"But perhaps the speech that was most enthusiastically received was one made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a high caste Brahman, whose fair complexion and delicately chiselled features, instinct with intellectuality, at once impressed every eye, and who suddenly, jumping up on a chair beside the President, poured forth a manifestly impromptu speech with an engery and eloquence that carried everything before

them." The speech was on "Legislative Council Reform"—and, one sentence at least of the speech, deserves to live. "No taxation without representation. That is the first commandment in the Englishman's political Bible." He spoke on the same subject at the Madras Congress of the next year, and the effort was equally successful. It called forth compliments from such men as Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, Dewan Bahadur R. Ragoonath Rao and Mr. Eardley Norton, while Mr. Hume wrote as follows in his Introduction to the Report: "Then rose Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a very young and enthusiastic labourer in the cause, and from his speech we feel bound to extract largely; partly because though over-fervid in expression towards its close it embodies truths that merit careful consideration." At once he became a favourite on the Congress platform and steadily rose in importance not only by his power of speech and contribution to debate,—which won for him compliments from such men as Mr. (now Sir) Charles Schwan, Mr. (now Sir) Pherozeshah Mehta, the late Mr. Caine and the late Mr. Digby—but by the earnest and untiring work he did throughout the year to advance the Congress. In 1887, some months before the Congress met at Madras, Mr. Hume wrote to say that he was hopeful of a large muster of delegates from every province; he was only doubtful of the North-West Provinces, and expressed the hope that some one might rouse the people to a sense of their duty. The hint was at once taken up by Pandit Madan Mohan: he could not brook the idea of the representative character of the Congress suffering by the remissness of his native province, and not well circumstanced as he was, he at once went on a tour in the province and worked at city after city amid environments

by no means encouraging. And it was a tribute to his capacity for breathing enthusiasm into people that no fewer than 45 delegates came to distant Madras in that year, a number not equalled at any succeeding Madras Session. He also at the same time became at the instance of Mr. Hume, Secretary of the N.-W. P. Association and of the Standing Congress Committee, and remained such for many years. Mr. Hume was eager that after Madras, Allahabad should hold the Congress and it was to Pandit Madan Mohan he turned, to take up the idea to invite the Congress and hold a successful session. The Congress of 1888 still remains perhaps the most interesting yet held. Pandit Ajoodhia Nath had not joined the Reception Committee at first, though Pandit Bishambar Nath did, but after he came in, he contributed very largely to the success of its work as every one remembers with gratitude. The working Secretary was Pandit Madan Mohan, and among other men who laboured must be mentioned Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Charan Das and Babu Charoo Chandra Mitra. Again, when the Congress was invited to hold its eighth session at Allahabad, in 1892, the grievous calamity of the death of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath discouraged the people and many suggestions were made that the Joint-General Secretary, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, should be informed that the Congress could not be held here; but there were a few stalwarts, for foremost among them Pandit Madan Mohan who would not listen to counsels of despair. And with Pandit Bishambar Nath, the unfailing old leader and sagacious counsellor at their head, the workers in the cause here held successful session that year at Allahabad. He presided over the United Provinces Conference at Lucknow in 1908, and his election as President of the parent

movement itself in the year 1909, came fittingly and in the fullness of time.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya became a member of the Allahabad Municipal Board many years ago, and was its Vice-Chairman on one or two occasions. He was elected a Fellow of the University eleven years ago and succeeded Pandit Bishambar Nath as a member of the Legislative Council in 1902 when the latter retired owing to increasing age. Ever since, he has been a member. In the Council he has distinguished himself by the display of combined moderation and ability, spirit of independence as well as sense of responsibility. His speeches on the Bundelkhand Land Alienation Bill and the Excise Bill and on the annual financial statements bring into relief the aforesaid qualities in him and mark him out unmistakably from the other members. He has had to work at considerable disadvantage being almost alone to espouse popular opinions, but in the new Council he will have some of his fellow-workers as his colleagues to share his labours—notably the Honourable Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and the Honourable Babu Ganga Prasad Varma. Pandit Madan Mohan gave valuable evidence before the Decentralisation Commission, the most important parts of his statement dealing with the constitution of provincial Governments and financial decentralisation. It is not a matter for surprise that after this career of usefulness for his motherland and with a clear knowledge of the diverse economical problems of India which have all along been engaging his attention, he should have become a member of the Imperial Legislative Council of which he can rightly claim to be a factor in view of his high attainments and extraordinary abilities.

Pandit Madan Mohan took up the question of Court character in the province and worked hard at the matter for rather more than three years. The complaint which he brought out on this subject was exhaustive of its kind and may be said to have gone a long way to bring about the famous resolution of Sir Antony MacDonnell's Government, which for several years after its issue formed the subject of so much controversy and gave rise to a feeling of unjust bitterness in the mind of the Mahomedan community. After all it was a very moderate recognition of the claims of the Nagari character on the part of the Government.

Pandit Madan Mohan has evinced the deepest interest in the welfare of the student population and in order to relieve them of hardship in finding suitable quarters at Allahabad whither they come in large numbers from their native places in the mofussil, he initiated in conjunction with the Honourable Pandit Sunder Lal, the movement in honour of Sir Antony MacDonnell which is concretised in the Hindu Boarding House. Pandit Madan Mohan, at the sacrifice of his steadily increasing professional work which he could ill-afford to do, travelled long and far at his own expense to raise funds for the Boarding House and he has the satisfaction of seeing it to-day in a flourishing condition and serving the purpose for which it was intended, very well indeed. The building itself, which was opened by Sir Antony MacDonnell's successor, Sir James La Touche, is one of the few handsome structures of Allahabad. His interest in educational matters led to his appointment as a member of the School Committee of which the late Mr. Roberts was Chairman, and it is known what part he took in the deliberations of the Committee.

We have referred more than once to Pandit Madan Mohan's zeal in religious matters. It is one of the settled convictions of his life that religion is at the foundation of all greatness and goodness, and that without an abiding religious faith no affair of man can succeed. He believes in ritual and most of the ideas and practices of orthodox Brahmans and hopefully looks forward to a religious revival in the country. He wants religious instruction to be imparted in school and has himself compiled text books which he hopes may be found suitable. He was the originator and the life and soul of the Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha held at Allahabad in January 1906, and it is no secret what expenditure of time, labour and money was borne by him to make the Sabha a success.

It is the combination of religious faith and zeal for the spread of sound education that will make a man really healthy, wealthy and wise which led him to prepare his comprehensive scheme for the establishment of a Hindu University (Bharatiya Viswa Vidyalaya) at Benares. It is not to be expected that there can be unanimity of opinion in regard to a complicated scheme of that description and even among those who are on the whole, of his way of thinking there is naturally considerable misgiving about the ultimate success of so costly an undertaking. But Pandit Madan Mohan's faith is large and whoever may doubt and falter, he does not lose heart. Hope eternal burns in him like a sacred pillar of fire. In the language of a friend he is inspired by something of "holy madness" for realisation of the University project and it is not impossible that one of these days its beginning at least may become a fact. It is well known in the circle of his friends that ever since he put forward this scheme "where scientific, technical and

industrial education is to be combined with religious instruction and classical culture," he has been anxious to retire from his profession and dedicate himself to service for its realisation: so ardently he believes that that will be the greatest means of the improvement of the condition of his country. And it is believed—we may perhaps say feared—his circumstances are such—among those who know that now that his son Pandit Ramakanta Malaviya has joined the High Court he contemplates to retire from his profession.

Pandit Madan Mohan has been an ardent champion of the Swadeshi movement for the last thirty years. So far back as 1881 a Deshi Tijarat Company was started at Allhabad to promote the use of indigenous manufactures, and Pandit Madan Mohan was one of the prominent supporters of the company. And all these three decades he has consistently advocated the use of Swadeshi things wherever they can be had, even if they are coarser and dearer than foreign manufactures, citing the example of other countries which have preserved or promoted their industries by a similar policy. Without being a boycotter he has always regarded it as part of his religious duty to purchase country-made goods in preference to foreign ones even at a sacrifice because by that means he would probably be the means of finding food for some humble countryman of his who might otherwise remain hungry. Recently his interest in the industrial movement has increased. He is among those who helped in bringing into existence the Indian Industrial Conference at Benares in 1905, and the United Provinces Industrial Conference and the United Provinces Industrial Association at Allahabad in 1907, and he has taken an active part in the deliberations of these bodies. His interest in technical education is keen and one of the attractions of

his scheme of a University at Benares is that higher technical education is to be a most important feature of the University. He was member of the Naini Tal Industrial Conference held by Sir John Hewett's Government in 1907; and he had no small share in starting the Prayag Sugar Company, Limited, which is the direct fruit of the First U. P. Industrial Conference.

In private life Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a very charitable man. There is no great benefaction which can be mentioned to his credit but there are unnumbered small acts of kindness to the needy which in reality reveal a man's secret springs of action. He is deeply interested in social and philanthropic work and is never happier than when engaged in relieving some human misery.

"The drying of a single tear has more

Of honest fame than shedding seas of gore"

said Byron. When plague first broke out in Allahabad the Collector, Mr. Ferard, C. I. E., who has always been a popular officer, asked Pandit Madan Mohan, who was a Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Board, to help in taking steps to prevent the disease from spreading. He did so cheerfully. For over a fortnight he personally superintended the disinfection of a dark lane in a *mandi* where it had broken out and where deaths had occurred in almost every house. His example was followed by his fellow-Commissioners when the disease spread to other parts of the city. He then initiated the movement the establishment of a health camp in Sohbatia Bakh in which about 1900 families found absolute protection from plague. Mr. Malaviya used to attend the camp both morning and evening in the first year. He also used to go to see the plague hospital and encouraged people to go

there. In the following year the health camp became so popular that at one time nearly 3,000 persons were living in perfect safety there.

In the Legislative Council he has earnestly urged the Government to encourage the building of model *bustees* by Government, and the establishment of Lukerganj with its excellent rows of houses is part at least the result of his advocacy. He has also been urging for years the opening up of congested areas in the larger cities of the province which is being carried out now in Allahabad and Cawnpore. Pandit Madan Mohan was a member of the Sanitary Conference held at Naini Tal last year by the local Government. Pandit Madhan Mohan Malaviya has the full assurance that his countrymen owe him a deep debt of gratitude for his services to the Motherland, and it is our sincere prayer that he may be spared for many years to come to further promote the welfare of India which he has at his heart.—*The Leader*.

2 10/11/19

THE UNIVERSITIES BILL

Speech delivered by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1903.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—

I rise to support the resolution which has been so ably moved and seconded by other speakers. The resolution is one which I need hardly say is of great and lasting importance; and we cannot be blamed if we try to discuss it at some length at this meeting. Gentlemen, the one thing that we have to consider in connection with this question of University reform is, what was it that led to the enquiry being instituted? What was the state of things with which fault was found? What was the state of things which it was sought to remedy? And then, consider what the remedies are which have been suggested and what the remedies are which the Government now propose to apply. Gentlemen, we must all ask ourselves and ask the Government what the faults of the Senates and the Syndicates of the existing Universities were which led the Government to appoint a Commission to enquire into the state of University Education. You will wade through all the literature connected with the Universities of this country in vain to find that during the past many years there never have been serious complaints made regarding the constitution either of the Syndicates or the Senates except in some trifling particulars or on some occasions. Speaking generally, you will find that the Syndicates and the Senates have done their work very satisfactorily.

(*Hear, hear*). Now, gentlemen, when the Government of Lord Curzon appointed a Commission, there was no doubt complaint was made by him that the results of University Education were not altogether satisfactory, were not as satisfactory as they ought to be. Gentlemen, in the same breath, every speaker who has discussed this question of the unsatisfactory character of the results of University Education, every responsible speaker, has admitted that the Universities have produced men eminent for learning, men who have distinguished themselves in the various walks of life into which they entered, men who have upheld the honour and intellect of the country and men who have served the Government with honour and credit. If there were some unfortunate young men who did not succeed in getting just the number of marks necessary to enable them to pass, that does not justify their being condemned as unworthy and dishonourable men who ought to be shunned like moral lepers. The line between a passed candidate and a failed B. A., as has been called, is a very short line and if a candidate has not succeeded, certainly we may be more charitable than we are and not condemn him as altogether an unworthy and undesirable person whose existence ought to be provided against by the legislature taking up the task of introducing a new enactment.

Then, the other complaint was that the University Education imparted in this country was not as high as it ought to be. On this point, I think, Anglo-Indian officials, European scholars and natives of this country were all agreed. I do not think that there is a single man who has said that the education imparted in our Universities is as high as it ought to be. On the contrary, we, poor natives of India, have been crying hoarse with the prayer that the Government should make

provision for the highest teaching being imparted in the different branches of study, which ought to find a place in a University. So far as this complaint is concerned, I will deal with it further later on.

But I want to point out that, so far as this Bill goes, it deals with both these questions. It enters at great length into the question of the constitution of the Senate and the Syndicate. It confers a variety of powers on the Syndicates; it transfers a great deal of the power of control to Government and it makes also a small provision to enable the Universities to appoint professors and teachers. Now, gentlemen, you are all aware that the Bill is taken up in a great measure with questions concerning the constitution of the Syndicate and the Senate and the vast powers conferred upon the former. Let us examine these provisions briefly and let us then see whether there is no justification for the united opposition which all educated Indians have been offering to this Universities Bill. Gentlemen, I am anxious that the matter should be considered with as little prejudice and bias as His Excellency the Viceroy desires it should be. Let us take the provision regarding the constitution of the Senate. We in the United Provinces have got a Universities Act. The Allahabad Universities Act has never been said to be a faulty Act. Its provisions are liberal to a large extent as compared with the provisions of this Bill. There were no complaints made and no complaints also in Bombay as we have heard from various speakers. Why, then introduce a Bill which will make a clean sweep of these Acts which have worked well, and which have given no room for complaint. Why deal with the whole country as if it were one Province? In the Allahabad University the provision regarding the constitution of the Senate is this.

There are certain Fellows who are appointed ex-officio; the remaining Fellows appointed half by Government and half by the Senate by election. Now, gentlemen, if in 1887 the Government saw the wisdom of permitting members of the Senate to elect half the Fellows of the Senate, where is there any reason shown or suggested for now depriving them of the right of electing Fellows to the Senate? I thought, gentlemen, that the system of nomination had long ago been found to be faulty and buried in England. The Government have also in this country during the last fifteen years shown that they do not believe entirely in the system of nomination. In the matter of Municipal Boards the principle of election has been introduced; in the matter of District Boards the elective principle is working. In the matter of Legislative Councils only a few years ago the Government admitted the reasonableness of the demand for introducing the elective principle. Now the Senates, which were the first body in this country in which the principle of election was first introduced and worked, are going to be deprived of their power in the beginning of the twentieth century. You cannot help feeling that the hand of the clock is being put back forcibly. Gentlemen, this is the state of things so far as the Senates are concerned. What is it that is going to be done? Nominations are going to be made largely by Government to the Senates. Gentlemen, I have the greatest respect for gentlemen who constitute the Government individually; but when you come to consider them in their capacity as representing the various departments of Government, then you cannot speak of them with the same confidence and the same esteem, not because they have not the desire to do the best thing in the best way, but because they are not brought

into touch with the great majority of those from whom they should make the selection and of whose ability and willingness to co-operate in this great work they should obtain first hand personal knowledge. Therefore I do apprehend that, in making the appointments, the Government will largely be guided by the recommendations of the Director of Public Instruction and also by the recommendations or selections of the Secretary who may be in power at the time. None of these methods, I need hardly say, can bring to the Senate half the men of ability and capacity expected to advise the Government and the public in matters of education that would come in through the channel of election. What then can be the justification for this retrograde step? Has it been proved, is it alleged, that the Fellows appointed in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay or Allahabad have been men who ought not to have been appointed? Has it been proved that they were not just the men who, in the great majority of instances, would have been picked up if proper selection had been made, men who have knowledge of the people and of the requirements of the Province? Why then put in this provision which militates against the principle upon which all other assemblies constituted by Government are worked?

Now, gentlemen, so much for election. Let us now consider what is the position of the Senate. Here, while I am dwelling upon this aspect of the question, let me say that it is stated that now the power to return Fellows will be legalised. Very thankful for this kindness, but we would much rather that the power were not legalised. There are many unwritten laws in England which have led to great prosperity and have conduced to the benefit of the people. We are not so much in love with statutory provisions. What we want is the substance

and not the name. If without any legal provision, the power, which the Government recognised reasonableness of election conferred upon the members of the Senate and graduates to return Fellows, has been well exercised, the Government ought to allow it to be exercised in future. Now, gentlemen, comes the question of permitting graduates to elect. They are to elect seven in the province from which I come; seven in the province of the Punjab. Now, gentlemen, at present, half the number of Fellows is elected by the Senate. Why should graduates be not given the opportunity of exercising the privilege of returning such of their fellowmen as they know to be able and competent to manage the business of the University? You have given the privilege of returning Members of Council to Municipal Boards and District Boards who, in turn, have been returned by people who have got no education and whose income is very small. And you will deny to the products of your University—of whom you ought to be proud, will deny to them the privilege of returning a few Fellows to the University where there are no political considerations involved, or at any rate, where there ought not to be any political considerations.

Let us see what the case of the Syndicate is. The Senate having appointed the Syndicate becomes practically dead; it is only to come to life practically when it is to appoint a Syndicate. Now, gentlemen, I do not pretend to be familiar with the constitutions of the Senates of many Universities, but I have studied the constitutions of some Universities and it seems to me preposterous, to say the least of it, to say that a body which is really the executive of the larger body of the Senate ought to sit over the heads of the Senate and pass on measures to Government and decide many questions

of importance without any reference to the Senate. Gentlemen, if you are going to have a reconstituted Senate, why this great feeling of distrust? Trust begets and the reverse also holds good. You complain that we are very uncharitable in criticising you; you complain that we attribute motives. Very well, we are sorry if that should be so. But here you are. You will not trust us with these smaller powers when along with a number of European professors and Government officials we want to exercise the privilege of electing such men as we consider to be best qualified to work on the Syndicate. What does the statutory provision for the representation of the teaching faculty mean? I have the highest respect for the body of professors under whom instruction is being imparted in this country. I have never been disobedient to my professors (*Laughter*); and I can tell you that I consider it a high privilege to sit at the feet of learned men and imbibe the learning that they are able to impart. I think good and true are the men who are in the Senate; all men connected with the Educational Department who ought to be on the Syndicate will, by force of circumstances, be elected over the heads of any other men that might be there. The Senate has not in the past failed to discharge this duty in my part of the country, in Bombay, the constitution of which I have studied to some extent and in Bengal, as my friend says, why now tie down the Senate to the necessity of electing a man whether it considers him competent or not? In my own province, the Principal of a College—I don't want you to know his name—was very keenly anxious to get on to the Syndicate. There were many other learned men and those who were as keen in thinking that he ought not to come on the Syndicate. He was defeated on more than one occasion. You can just consider that, if you make it

compulsory on the part of the Senate to elect a certain proportion of men, the danger is that men who are not competent will be put on the Syndicate and that the entire management of the University must suffer to some extent. Therefore it is that we pray to Government to remove the clause which makes this statutory provision regarding the representation of professors, and to trust to the good sense of the members of the Senate to elect not only half the proportion but a major portion of those who will deal with the executive affairs of the University.

Gentlemen, so much for the constitution of the Senate and the Syndicate. Let us see what other powers are going to be conferred upon the Syndicate under the Bill. The Syndicate is going to deal with the important question of affiliation and disaffiliation. Gentlemen, knowing as we do in our part of the country what difficulties the Colleges undergo in getting affiliated where this power is entrusted to the Syndicate, I must strongly protest against this provision. Gentlemen, you have other conditions put in. There is the provision for the residence of students in Colleges. Now I may tell you that I am whole-heartedly in favour of the residential system. In my own humble way, in connection with the Muir College at Allahabad, I have been working along with other Members as Secretary of the Committee which has raised Rs. 1,60,000 to build a boarding house. We are endeavouring to raise three lakhs and provide accommodation for 200 students. Gentlemen, while I am so keenly in favour of that system being introduced, I do feel that it will be a wrong thing to make it compulsory upon Colleges to provide the system of residential quarters because they are affiliated. I will tell you my reason. The Muir College at Allahabad was established in

response to the wishes of certain leading gentlemen and with the help of subscriptions paid by several native chiefs, the Maharajah of Vizianagaram contributing one lakh. Of the two lakhs raised, a considerable sum, the Government said, would be reserved for residential quarters. That was at the time of Lord Northbrook. That was in 1871. You will find, in the history of the College, that not until the time of Sir Antony Macdonnell, were any steps taken to really build a boarding house to accommodate students. For nearly twenty years, the Government which had spent nine lakhs upon the Muir College buildings did not see its way to build a boarding house for accommodating students. I do not blame the Government of the North-Western Provinces. I have my reasons. No partiality. The Government of the United Provinces have been given such small pittances in the shape of provincial grants and contracts that they did not find the money to invest. Not only that, but worse, the Government of India in many years actually scolded the Government of the United Provinces for having spent much money on higher education and less on other kinds of education. If Government, with all its mighty resources, have recognised the utility of the residential system after twenty years, does it not seem violent to require all institutions which now want affiliation to show a splendid row of residential quarters for students, before they are to be affiliated? We must proceed slowly: we must have patience. If the Government there have not been able to work up that system, it is not they alone that have failed; but they have failed in other provinces—if the Government Colleges have not their rooms for students, then they ought to pause, allow public opinion to grow and allow people time to make preparation for these things.

Gentlemen, I will not take up your time by going into any more details so far as the provision for residential quarters is concerned. I will claim your attention for a few short minutes while I submit my remarks with regard to the other aspects, namely the teaching function of the University. There is a provision regarding teaching in the Universities Bill. When the Viceroy complained that our Universities did not produce men of as high ability as it ought to, he forgot that the Universities of this country were not in the least degree to blame. Young men of this country have shown aptitude enough to receive the benefits of the highest kind of education imparted in this country. Those that have gone out of India have proved it further. While the Government have been conscious that this system ought to be introduced, they have never yet been able to make up their minds to do so. So far back as 1854, you will find that this was what was said with regard to higher teaching in the despatch of that year. "It will be advisable to institute in connection with the Universities, professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning for the acquisition of which at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India." The Education Commission that was appointed also dwelt upon its necessity and commented thus. "That in order to encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side, it is desirable in all the larger Colleges, Government and aided, to make provision for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the Universities. Now when you come to the Punjab University Act, you find that a provision is made therein regarding teaching. In the Allahabad University Act, which was passed in 1887, a more clear and more liberal

provision is made to enable Universities to appoint professors and lecturers to give lectures for advanced degrees. What has come of it? Who is to be blamed for it, if this provision is not worked? It is not in a spirit of unfair criticism, but only to point out the fact, I submit, that it is the Government to blame for it. If the Government had only found the money, or if the Government had realised its duty in the way of providing high instruction, these Universities would long ago have resounded with lectures of learned men brought from England and Germany. But Government had failed to do so unfortunately, and now the natives of India, the graduates of these Universities and failed B. A.'s are all blamed and punished for the omissions and sins of Government. What is the provision that is being made in so far as teaching is concerned to advance our learning and promote research? Mr. Raleigh said that some of the schemes which have been submitted to Government involved an expenditure which the Government were not prepared to incur. He said that five lakhs would be set apart for five years for the purpose of giving instruction in aid of the Universities and Colleges whose claims to special assistance in carrying out reforms, which we have in view, have been established. You can understand how this small sum will be distributed in dribblets to the different Universities. This is not the way in which you can expect higher teaching to be provided for. You will remember that Sir Normop Lockyer gave an estimate of 60 lakhs. Can we not ask the Government of India reasonably to give us at least one-fourth of that sum, namely fifteen lakhs a year, to have higher teaching in all the various Universities? The country is considered to be fit enough to have the services of the best men of the Civil Service; the country is considered fit

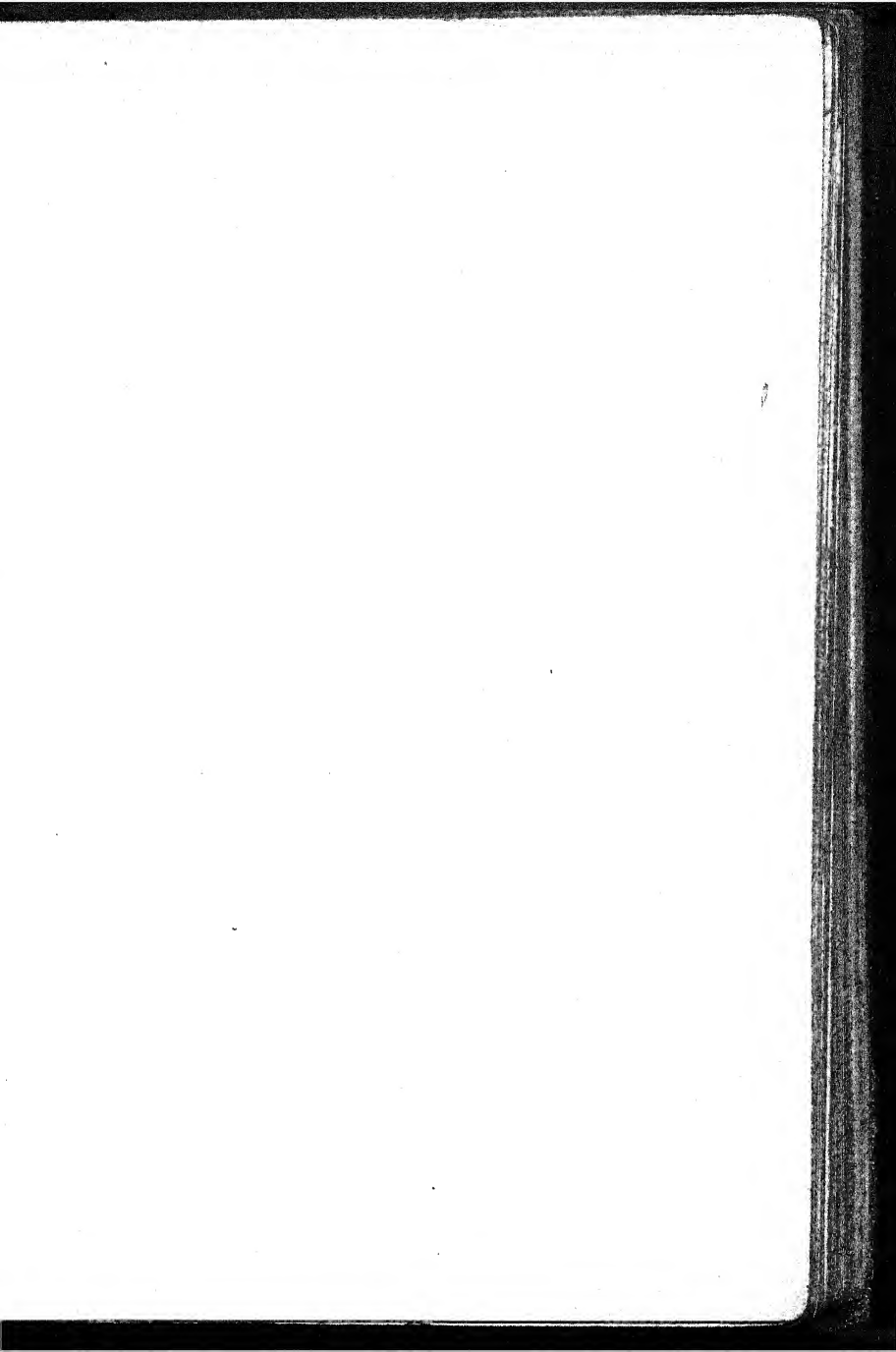
enough to have the best soldier the British Government can have. Are not the youth of this country qualified to receive the benefit of instruction from the best professors that can be brought to this country? We, natives of this country, have certainly no voice in expending the money which is raised from us. But if Lord Curzon's Government will be pleased to consider the moral aspect of the question and take into consideration the feelings of the educated people of India from one end of the country to the other, he should, in justice to their claims and in conformity with their prayer, set apart a much larger sum for higher education than he thinks of providing.

I will now conclude. I think we have seen that we are not to blame for not getting the benefits of the advanced type of education that we desire. Lord Curzon is a University man; he understands certainly the benefits of higher education. I will say to him; give us Universities and provide in them for the highest instruction being imparted: provide for the development of talents, for the cultivation of literature, for the elevation of professional standards and provide also a place where learned men can find their calm repose which is to be seen only in seats of learning. A great American writer speaking of Universities—you will pardon me for quoting the passage which is so pertinent to the subject—says. "A man of varied experience in public affairs has said that a great University should be at once 'the best place of education, the greatest machine for research, and the most delicious retreat for learned leisure.' This is doubtless the truth, but it is only a half truth. Universities, with ample resources for the support of investigators, scholars, thinkers and philosophers, numerous enough, learned enough, and wise enough to be felt among the powers of the age, will

prove the safeguards of repose, not only for those who live within their learned cloisters, but for all who come under their influence. A society of the choicest minds produced in any country, engaged in receiving and imparting knowledge, devoted to the study of nature, the noblest monument of literature, the marvellous abstractions of mathematical reasoning, the results of historical evidence, the progress of human civilization and the foundations of religious faith, will be at once an example of productive quietude and an incitement to the philosophic view of life, so important to our countrymen in this day when the miserable cry of pessimism on the one hand, and the delightful but deceitful illusions of optimism on the other hand, are in danger of leading them from the middle path, and from that reasonableness of mind, which first recognises that which is, and then has the hope and courage to strive for the better."

Gentlemen, Lord Curzon has been in our midst for five years. Great hopes were raised in our minds from the high and noble utterances of His Excellency. His Excellency's career, for all that we can see, is now coming to a close, and may I appeal now to him to immortalise his name by leaving behind him an institution which will keep up his name better than the Victoria Memorial Hall. Gentlemen, it were much better if Lord Curzon was not going to introduce real good Universities. I do wish that he had not taken up the subject like his predecessors who did not take it up and had not recognised what was needed. He might be pardoned for not having done so. But for him to have recognised the truth and then to have failed to rise to the occasion will be a thing to be much deplored. Let us yet hope that His Excellency will see the reasonableness of our claims

and make ample and liberal provision for real high education, for real Universities, which will enable our young men to acquire something of that education which second class Universities impart in other countries.





Sir P. M. Mehta

SIR PHEROZESHAH MERWANJI MEHTA

It will be readily admitted on all hands that the Hon. Sir P. M. Mehta is one of the foremost Indians of the day. His record of public activity is probably the longest, next to that of Dadhabhi Naorojee, of which any Indian can boast. It extends over more than 40 years. The record is not merely long but of the richest. The life of such a man should be profoundly interesting at a time when thousands of people are beginning to take a living interest in the political destinies of India.

He was born on the 4th August 1845 at Bombay. His father was a merchant, being a partner of Messrs. Cama & Co. The elder Mehta seems to have been a man of sound commercial instincts and fine literary taste. The boy was in due course put to school. He passed the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University in 1861. He then entered the Elphinstone College and graduated in 1864. He also passed his M. A. Examination six months later. The education which he received at the Elphinstone College was of a very high order. The College was presided over by that eminent scholar, the late Sir Alexander Grant, who afterwards became Principal of the Edinburgh University. The talents of the young Mehta seem to have attracted the great scholar's attention from the first, and he gave every possible encouragement to the brilliant and aspiring student. The influence on Sir P. M. Mehta of the education he received at the Elphinstone College and specially of his intercourse

with Sir Alexander Grant cannot be over estimated. In fact it was here that he laid deep the foundations of that wide culture and refinement for which he has since been remarkable. When Mr. Mehta took his M. A. degree, Sir Alexander Grant nominated him a Fellow of the College and further recommended him to a travelling scholarship which had been instituted by R. D. Jeejeebhoy, a Parsee philanthropist, in order that he might proceed to England to qualify himself for the profession of the Bar. Reluctant at first, the father of Sir Pherozeshah was at length prevailed upon to send his son to England, though the travelling scholarship was not ultimately taken advantage of.

In England, he entered himself as a student at Lincoln's Inn and for three years applied himself with rare assiduity and earnestness to the study of law. In due course he was called to the Bar in 1868 and returned to Bombay on the very day when a farewell address was presented to Sir Alexander Grant on the eve of his departure to Edinburgh. Such was the regard that Mr. Mehta entertained for his master, that hearing of the farewell meeting as soon as he landed at Bombay, he proceeded straight to the meeting to bid farewell to his beloved *guru*. While in England Sir Pherozeshah came under the influence of Dadhabai Naorojee and made himself useful to him in his efforts for the political advancement of his country. It may also be noted that he there made friends of the late Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee and Manoj Mohan Ghose, who were then his fellow students—a friendship which lasted till their death. With the combined efforts of Dadhabai and the young students, Bonnerjee and Mehta, a Society was started called the London Literary Society, which subsequently grew into the present East India Association. The young Pherozeshah read a paper

before the Society, on "The Educational System of India" which showed that its author carried an old head on young shoulders.

Soon after his return to India, Sir Pherozeshah made a name for himself as a lawyer. His legal talents were first revealed in the famous "Tower of Silence Riot Case" in 1872, when he appeared as junior Counsel for the defence along with the late Mr. Anstey. Mr. Anstey, who was never lavish of praise, complimented his junior in the case upon his legal ability and predicted that he would reach the top of the profession. Another opportunity was afforded by the Surat Riots Case, and Sir Pherozeshah's reputation as a criminal lawyer was established in the mofussil. Sir Pherozeshah has ever since commanded the most extensive practice in the mofussil, and almost resembles in this respect the late-lamented Mano Mohan Ghose. Sir Pherozeshah's income as a lawyer is said to be one of the largest earned in the whole country. He has also, from time to time, been appointed legal adviser to several Native States on the Bombay side.

Sir Pherozeshah's public-spirited activity has been in evidence from the day of his landing at Bombay. The first public undertaking with which he was intimately connected was in 1869 when mainly through his efforts a movement was set on foot to present a purse to Dadhabai Naorojee in recognition of his services to the country. Two years later he began to take prominent interest in Municipal affairs. In 1871, he read a paper on Municipal reform, a subject which was then very much before the mind of the public. When he was reading the paper he was met with a storm of indignant protest, as his views did not commend themselves to

the popular taste ; but those very views were adopted and carried out in the reforms that were subsequently brought about. In 1872 he entered the Corporation of Bombay and has ever since been a member of that body, so that this Municipal career extends now over 38 years. He first distinguished himself greatly in connection with the Surat Reservoir scandal, when he powerfully exposed the whole muddle with all the resources of eloquence and sarcasm for which he is justly famous. His services in the Corporation and his knowledge of Municipal questions have given him such virtual ascendancy in it, that he has been known as the uncrowned king of the Corporation. In 1884 he was elected Chairman of the Corporation, elected a second time in 1885 and elected a third time on the eve of the visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales to India five years back. The signal honour of being elected Chairman a third time was specially conferred upon him in order that the most illustrious member of the Corporation might welcome Their Royal Highnesses to India. According to both Indian and Anglo-Indian opinion, Sir Pherozeshah made the best Chairman that the Corporation ever had. But his ascendancy in the Corporation roused the jealousy of some Anglo-Indians and three years ago a discreditable effort was made to keep him out of the Corporation. The public are only too well acquainted with the machinations of the 'caucus' and its ignominious end.

But his devotion to civic affairs did not preclude him from taking interest in larger public questions. The need for a political association voicing independent public opinion became more and more felt ; and in conjunction with the late Messrs. Telang and Budruddin

Tyabji he founded the Bombay Presidency Association, which pronounced itself on grave political questions with such remarkable ability and dignity that Sir Evelyn Baring, (now Lord Cromer) called it the 'centre of political activity and sobriety.' In 1886, Sir Pherozeshah was appointed a member of the Bombay Legislative Council by Lord Reay. During his term of office the new Municipal Bill now known as the Municipal Act (I) of 1888, was on the Legislative anvil. The work of opposing its objectionable features fell on the shoulders of Telang and Mehta and, needless to say, it was mainly through their exertions that the Bill was made really liberal measure.

Sir Pherozeshah was one of those who launched the Indian National Congress in 1885 and ever since he has been regarded as one of the most prominent leaders of the Congress movement. In 1889, when the Congress met for the second time at Bombay, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, he delivered an address which charmed with its brilliance every one present. When the Congress met at Calcutta in 1890, he was invited to preside over its deliberations and his opening address on the occasion was a splendid deliverance. He said that the Parsis were as truly natives of India as the Hindus or the Mahomedans and that they would not sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, in spite of invitations to do so from the enemies of the Congress. For various reasons, Sir Pherozeshah has not been able to attend every session of the Congress, but his interest in the movement is none the less deep and abiding. When the Congress met at Bombay for the third time in 1904, he was again Chairman of the Reception Committee and his address of welcome was fully worthy of the man and the occasion.

When the Legislative Councils were reconstituted in 1892, and the privilege of electing their own members was accorded to the public, Sir Pherozeshah was among the first to be elected to the local Legislative Council. He has been elected again and again, indeed so often that he might almost be considered a permanent member of the Bombay Legislative Council. It is impossible to speak in terms of exaggerated praise of his services on the Council. Fearless and bold, dignified and moderate, eloquent and sarcastic, he has been almost a terror to the heaven-born civilian members of the Council. He has exposed the pretensions of the officials and vindicated the claims of the educated classes to represent the masses of their countrymen. One incident in his legislative career is worthy of note. When the unpopular Land Revenue Code Amendment Bill was being carried through the Bombay Legislative Council, Sir Pherozeshah retired from the Council with the non-official members when he saw that all opposition was futile. Such was his sense of self-respect. In 1894, he was elected to represent Bombay on the Imperial Legislative Council. His period of service therein may truly be pronounced to have been memorable. His independence, his boldness and his straightforwardness of criticism so different from the traditionary 'bated breath and whispering humbleness' of non-official legislators, deeply mortified the immaculate officials, and their bitter resentment against him found expression in some theatrical attacks made by Sir James Westland. The officials complained that he had introduced a 'new spirit' into the Council, but Sir Pherozeshah proved more than a match for them all. As was said of him at the time, he returned argument for argument, invective for invective, banter for banter, ridicule for ridicule.' The people of

Calcutta in public meeting assembled, presented him with an address eulogising his manly attitude in the Council. The people of Bombay did the same and the reply which he gave to their address was a masterpiece of argument, eloquence and satire. Sir Pherozeshah sat on the Imperial Legislative Council for three years, but has never again stood as a candidate, his object evidently being that of making way for younger men.

In addition to these multifarious activities, Sir Pherozeshah has been a most active member of the Senate of the university of Bombay. He has also been a member of the Syndicate. He was the right hand man of the late Mr. Justice Ranade in fighting the educational battles of the Western Presidency. Not the least of his services in this direction was the resolute opposition which he offered to the Universities Bill.

The foregoing enumeration does not exhaust the public functions which Sir Pherozeshah has filled. He is President of the Presidency Association, Bombay; President of the Bombay Graduates' Association; has taken part in almost every important public meeting held in Bombay; presided over the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Poona in 1892, and has given evidence before many Public Commissions. He is also intimately connected with the Mill Industry of Bombay.

Nor have his services gone unrecognised by the Government. He was made a C. I. E. in 1894, and a K. C. I. E., in 1904, amidst the acclamations of all India. When Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales were in Bombay, Her Highness asked him to sign his name in her autograph book: a rare honour!

A word on Sir Pherozeshah as a speaker will not be out of place. He is undoubtedly one of the finest speakers

in India. His voice and manner of delivery are charming and there is eloquence in his speeches, but the quality that distinguishes them from those of other Indian speakers is their piercing, biting sarcasm. Even on the most exciting occasions he indulges in banter ; he never permits himself to be too serious.

Sir Pherozeshah is veritably a Prince among men,—a born leader, a statesman by instinct ; and those who have read this short sketch will not fail to be struck with the many-sidedness of his public activities, the long record of his public services, the eloquence, ability and independence which he has brought to bear upon his advocacy of the country's cause, the earnestness by which he is animated even when pursuing a mistaken course, and the harvest which he has reaped in the regard and admiration of persons of all shades of political opinion.

TWENTIETH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Speech delivered by the Hon. Sir P. M. Mehta in welcoming the delegates of the Twentieth Indian National Congress.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

I count it a piece of singular good fortune that I should stand before you here to-day to tender to you, my Brother Delegates of the Twentieth Indian National Congress, the same cordial, sincere, and earnest welcome on behalf of the Reception Committee, which it was my pride and privilege to tender to you on this very Congress platform exactly this day fifteen years ago. It is a piece of still greater good fortune for which both you and I cannot but be equally thankful that I am supported on this occasion as on the last by the presence amongst us of one than whom India had never a warmer, truer, more devoted, more self-sacrificing, more faithful and more constant friend—you see him on my right, Sir William Wedderburn—whose name is now a household word amongst us, cherished with tender respect and affection. A noble type of the high-minded and high-souled Englishman at his best, it is owing to the fact of the existence and activity of such Englishmen in the ranks of Anglo-Indian Civilians that our hopes and our aspirations escape from despair, and our attachment and our loyalty to British rule are preserved and strengthened. It never rains but it pours, says the proverb, which in its ignorance of the scheme of Providence attributes to it

partiality and favouritism, and I am tempted to boast of another piece of good fortune at finding that my Chairmanship is, on this occasion as on the last, destined to be illustrated by the presidency of another such Englishman as I have described, Anglo-Indian and Civilian, who has, not yesterday or to-day, but throughout a career rising from the lowest to almost the highest step of the Civilian ladder uniformly and consistently realized that he best served the interests of his own country and the great service to which he belonged, by strictly and faithfully adhering to a policy of true righteousness and sympathy. But that is another story which will be presently unfolded at due length, after I have tried, if not tired your patience for some time longer. I cannot, however, pass on without congratulating ourselves on the presence of a gentleman, one of the oldest and most respected Members of Parliament, who has for years, quietly and unostentatiously, but nonetheless nobly and earnestly raised his voice in the interests of this country. I refer to Mr. Samuel Smith. But in the midst of these manifold congratulations, my vanity is checked by the reflection that after all, however man may propose, it is God who disposes. We looked forward at one time with enthusiastic anticipations to gaze on the kindly, radiant, and loving countenances of three, perhaps the oldest, patriarchs of the Congress. But the call of duty which never calls him in vain has deprived us of the presence of Mr. Dahabhai Naoroji, and imperative considerations of health have deprived us of the opportunity of seeing once again the beloved and revered Founder of this body, Mr. Hume, and if I may say so, his eldest son, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. But absent as they are, we will tell them that their names and deeds are and will for ever be cherished in our hearts with love, veneration and gratitude.

And now, gentlemen, I trust that you will not think that I unduly indulge in the inveterate habit of the people of this " Kingdom of Bombay" to consider ourselves superior to all the rest of the country when, in view of the active and passive opposition offered in past years in other parts to the measures for accommodating the Congress, I congratulate myself on the fact that the account given by Sir William Hunter in his book on Lord Reay's Administration as to the character of the relations between Europeans and Indians in this Presidency has been amply borne out by the way in which we have been helped in securing the best sites available in Bombay for our manifold purposes. We have received kindly and generous assistance from officials and non-officials alike in a spirit of broad-minded liberality, justifying Sir William Hunter's observation, that " the competition of races, although as keen as in any other Province, is here tempered by common interests, mutual forbearance, and a certain reciprocal respect which impart a moderation to Bombay public opinion and to the Bombay press in political crises." The *Pioneer* said the other day that we shall presently denounce the Government that so kindly lent us the Oval as wicked. Let me assure it that we in Bombay, however, use no violent language ; and when we have to criticise Government, for even the *Pioneer* will not insist that it is beyond criticism, we will only call it erring and misguided.

But when I complacently congratulate ourselves on securing the best and healthiest sites for this year's Congress, I approach the question of this Pavilion and of the Encampment for your residence with some amount of nervousness. We have been told by some candid friends, or, if they will pardon me for saying so by some critics who profess to be our friends only to be able to

criticise us the more effectively, that we are only spasmodically wasting our energies, that this Congress gathering is only a show and a saturnalia of uncoüch-oratory, and that we are wantonly and extravagantly throwing away on an evanescent *tamasha* monies which could be devoted to more solid and useful purposes. Now this criticism strikes me, gentlemen, as very much like the criticism applied by Revenue officers to the impoverished ryot when they try to explain away agrarian indebtedness by the extravagance of his expenditure on festive and mourning occasions. As a matter of fact, the extravagance of the ordinary ryot on such occasions consists only in a few brass ornaments, a few sweetmeats and an unlimited amount of tomtom. So is it with us. Our Pavilion is not a gothic temple with marble pillars and tessellated floors ; it is a structure of unhewn posts and canvas decorated with strips of cheap muslin of Congress-colours to look gay. We have not housed you in palatial buildings ; the canvas camp in which you are lodged has all and more than all the severity of military exigencies in a far campaign. To the amounts thus spent, our kind friends insist upon adding the travelling charges, as if all the delegates would never have during Christmas stirred out of their houses to enjoy the Chirstmas holidays, even if they were not attending the Congress. But even taking the whole total thus added up, I venture, gentlemen, to say boldly that all this and much more would be well spent for fulfilling the purpose for which the Congress has been organized, and for achieving the aim and end for which the Congress is constituted. To those who decry the monies spent upon it as monies wasted on a show and a *tamasha*, I would say that they are no more men of real insight and true imagination than those whom one of the greatest of English poets—

Wordsworth—has described with such infinite pity for their incapacity to enter into the true inwardness of things:—

A primrose by the river brim,
A yellow primrose is to him,
And it is nothing more.

But if you realize it clearly and fully, there is no purpose more important, no mission more sacred, than the one that the Congress fulfils in the three short days to which it confines its session. It would be absurd to say that the Congress meets to deliberate or discuss and decide all the important subjects with which it deals. That task must be and is largely performed in the course of the year by such institutions as we may possess for forming Indian public opinion, in the common intercourse of social life, in local bodies more or less active, in the native press which is undoubtedly daily growing more and more capable and potent. At the end of the year we all meet together from different parts of the country, representatives of the people not selected, it is true, by any authoritative scientific process, but still representatives or in all the various ways in which virtual representation works itself out in the early stages of its progressive development, representatives who are of the people and in immediate touch and contact with them, representatives realizing in themselves the wants, the wishes, the sentiments, the aspirations of the people, representatives whose education has qualified them to ponder over grave questions of policy and principle in their application to the administration and Government of this country in all their complex relations of a foreign rule, representatives into whom education has instilled an earnest, devoted, and enlightened loyalty to the British Crown and a keen solicitude for the safety and permanence

of the British Empire in which, they are firmly persuaded lie implanted the roots of the welfare the prosperity and the good Government of this country, I say, we delegates, representatives of the people, meet together at the end of the year to give voice to the public opinion of the country taking shape and formulating throughout the year, to present our Petition of Rights, our Grand Remonstrance, our appeal and our prayer for a firm and unfaltering grasp of a policy of wisdom and righteousness, for the reversal of retrograde measures inconsistent with such a policy and for the adoption of means steadily ensuring the gradual development of free political progress

"Broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent."

Such an appeal and such a prayer can be most effectively offered at a great gathering like this by the unanimous voice of delegates assembling from all parts of the country. If, gentlemen, we did nothing more than make this solemn petition and this earnest prayer, we shall not have spent our monies in vain, we shall not have laboured for nought.

But we are told that we have done this for long and we have done this in vain. I absolutely dispute both these propositions. Has this Congress really grown old and grey, and has it really effected nothing? I reply that the Congress has not yet attained its majority? I reply that the surest testimony to the value of its achievements direct and indirect, and the force of its influence, is to be found in the very policy of reaction and retrogression which it has from time to time provoked, the tide following each successive ebb of which policy takes us you may be sure, further and further on the path of progress and emancipation. To estimate this

position rightly, let me lay before you the confession of faith of devout and irreclaimable Congressman like myself. I am an inveterate, I am a robust optimist like my late friend Mahadev Govind Ranade, I believe in divine guidance through human agency. It may be the fatalism of the East, but it is an active, not a passive fatalism, a fatalism which recognizes that the human wheels of the machinery must actively work to fulfil their appointed task. My humility saves me from the despair that seizes more impatient souls like those who have recently preached a gospel of despondency—I always seek hope and consolation in the words of the poet :

" I have not made the world and He that has made it will guide."

I derive patience from the same poet's teaching.

" My faith is large in time, and that which shapes it to some perfect end."

My steadfast loyalty is founded upon this rock of hope and patience. Seeking the will of Providence, like Oliver Cromwell, in dispensations rather than revelations, seeing God's will like him in fulfilment of events, I accept British rule, as Ranade did, as a dispensation so wonderful, a little island set at one end of the world establishing itself in a far continent as different as difference could be, that it would be folly not to accept it as a declaration of God's will. But as I have often said, when, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence this country was assigned to the care of England, the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old : " Behold I have placed before you a blessing and a curse ; a blessing if ye will obey the Commandments of the Lord your God ; a curse if ye will not obey the Commandments of the Lord your God, but go after other Gods whom ye have not known."

The possession of India would be a blessing to England if administered in the spirit of righteousness; a curse if in the seductive spirit of worldliness. We cordially confess that in the main, England has chosen wisely and well. The great and far-seeing statesmen who presided at the consolidation of British rule in India proclaimed that the declared policy of the Crown in India should be one of righteousness, and they firmly and unequivocally announced it by the voice of the great and good Queen who then wore the crown. But the acceptance and announcement of a policy of righteousness is one thing, its application another. The adhesion to such a policy is not determined in a day; it is not established without a long struggle between the forces of righteousness and those of worldliness, like unto the struggle between Hormazed and Ahriman. Even the chosen people of the Hebrew God continually relapsed, in spite of solemn covenants, into the worship of the Gods of idolatry. Therefore, it is that, while the oscillations and vicissitudes of the struggle go on, the hope expressed by the Viceroy in his reply to the address of the Bombay Corporation and echoed by Lord Ampthil before the Madras Corporation that there may be no two parties about England in India is premature and practically futile. Such a hope is unreasonable and impracticable, while the pledges about equality of the Great Proclamation of 1858 are kept in the letter and broken in the spirit, while the distinctions of race, colour and creed abolished by our Magna Charta are reintroduced under the plausible guise of being distinctions based on the distinctive merits and qualifications inherent in race, while the burdens of Imperial Empire, which should be borne by the Empire, including the Colonies, are disproportionately and heavily thrown on Indian finances, while attempt after attempt is made to pass on to the Indian

Exchequer. Military expenditure supposed to be necessitated by the vulnerable position of India, but really designed to meet supposed Imperialistic exigencies, while the Indian subjects of His Majesty are allowed to be deprived of their rights of equal citizenship in the undisguised interests of the white races against the dark in a way which responsible Ministers of the Crown gravely declared furnished a just cause of war against the Boers, while the economic relations between the two countries are adjusted more in the interests of the predominant than of the impotent partner, while the development of the industries of the country is neglected or hampered for fear of competition with English industries, while the "consuming love" for India in the breasts of the rulers has more the colour and character of affection towards a foster child or a step-son than the equal and engrossing love for a natural son, while the results of a really *bona fide* and laborious Commission like the Public Service Commission, imperfect as they were, are attempted to be set aside and restricted by autocratic action, while the percentages of the admission of natives into the public service are estimated, not by the only true test of comparison with the promises made and rights established after public enquiry and deliberate action but by the increases and decreases with those of years long previous to such pledges and promises totally ignoring the recognition of subsequent years of "the just claims of the natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service" as stated in the Resolution of the Government of India appointing the Public Service Commission, while the people are being emasculated by the wholesale operation of the Arms Act to the future detriment of the interests of both England and India, while the small modicum of independence possessed by the

Indian Universities is ruthlessly annihilated, and the Universities turned substantially into Departments of Government, so that the breeding of the discontented B. A., "that distinct political danger," may be stopped or limited, and while—but it is not needful to go on any further. We thus see that the hope of there being no two parties about England in India is not founded in the realities of the situation. It is another form of the same advice that has been also recently showered upon us by Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors that there should be no political agitation in this country. I wish to speak with all respect for these disinterested advisers; but I cannot help comparing them to that delightful "Poor man's friend," Sir John Bowley, so admirably depicted by Dickens:—

"Your only business, my good fellow, is with me. You needn't trouble yourself to think about anything. I will think for you; I know what is good for you; I am your perpetual Parent. Such is the dispensation of an all-wise Providence. * * * What man can do, I do. I do my duty as the Poor man's Friend and Father; and I endeavour to educate his mind, by inculcating on all occasions the one great lesson which that class requires, that is entire dependence on myself. They have no business whatever with themselves." I venture to say that to accept this advice would be equally demoralizing to the rulers and the ruled. It ignores all the laws of human progress, it ignores the workings of human nature, it ignores environment and surroundings. We may be as well told to cease, to breathe, to think, or to feel. Political agitation there will always be. The only question is whether we should suppress and bottle up our feelings and hopes and aspirations and our grievances in the innermost recesses of our own hearts, in the secret con-

claves of our own brethren, or deal with the m in the free light of open day. The former course would be preferred by the prophets of despair. We, gentlemen, prefer the latter, because we have faith in the ultimate wisdom, beneficence and righteousness of the English people. Curiously enough, gentlemen, this advice to cease political agitation found an echo, where one would have least expected it, in a corner of Bengal. To our astonishment, we were one day treated to a homily at a Provincial Conference in that Presidency on the thesis that subject races could have no politics. We were exhorted to abandon them in favour of Industrial and Scientific Organizations. I trust, gentlemen, I will not be taken to undervalue the good work done in establishing the Association for the advancement of industrial science; it is already doing excellent work in conferring various industrial and technical scholarships of Rs. 100 and more. But I may be allowed to say that when I read the reports of the public meeting at which the Association was inaugurated, I could not help wondering whether our European friends who were actively supporting the movement were doing so with the hope of weaning our Bengali brethren from the bad habit to which they are supposed to be specially addicted of excessive political agitation, or whether our Bengali friends were endeavouring to coax their European friends to help them by specious professions of giving up their favourite vice and turning out reformed characters. I will abstain, however, from attributing motives as we are now perpetually advised to do by those who preach but never practise the virtue. It is needless to seriously controvert the thesis advanced by these Bengali friends, utterly unhistoric and unmanly as it is. If they will pardon me, I will only tell them how I regard them. They seem to me to be the Esaus.

of Bengal ready to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage. However fragrant and nourishing that pottage may be represented to be, we will not sell our birth-right for it. But I am sure that there is no difficulty in retaining both one and the other, the birth-right as well as the pottage.

But, gentlemen, let us go back to the pendulum which we have left to oscillate between righteousness and worldliness for too long time, and see how far the Congress has worked in propelling it in the right direction. Never had the pendulum oscillated so violently as in Lord Lytton's time. The policy of righteousness was openly scouted. It was declared that having won India by breaking all Ten Commandments, it was too late to govern it on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The country was thrown into a state of doubt and perplexity, of alarm and uneasiness. From this unfortunate position, it was rescued by the advent of Lord Ripon. In him, we get back the true old English statesman, wise in his noble generosity and far-sighted in his righteousness. Englishmen will never know the true value of Lord Ripon's services to British rule. He added buttresses of enduring strength to the citadel of our loyalty. It is to him we owe that in the darkest days of gloom and reaction we always confidently look forward to rays of light and hope. Except, perhaps, the great measure of Local Self-Government, and that of the Bengal Tenancy Act, which was intensely unpopular with Zemindars of Bengal, he conferred no impossible boons or charters on us. He did not tell us, as the present Viceroy did in his last Budget speech, that "I do not think that the salvation of India is to be sought in the field of politics at the present stage of her development and it is not my conception to earn a cheap applause by

offering so-called boons for which the country is not ready and for which my successors and not I would have to pay the price. Neither was it Lord Ripon's conception of statesmanship nor did he confer any boons for which the country was not ripe. But, again to use the words of the self-same speech, he heartily and genuinely sympathised, with the real and progressive sympathy of true Liberalism as Mr. Morley recently defined it in America, and not with the narrow prejudice of conservative fear and mistrust of all progress and liberty, "with the aspirations of the Indians towards greater national unity and with their desire to play a part on the public life of the country." As these twofold sentiments are enunciated in the Budget speech, there is confusion, instead of correlation between them. Why is the salvation of India not to be sought at least partially, on the field of politics at all times now and hereafter, if official sympathy, with Indian aspirations and desire to play a part in the public life of this country, is deep and genuine? How can these aspirations and desires be even gradually achieved, unless we are allowed to play at all times a modest and temperate part on the field of politics. And I venture to say it is unfair and unjust to charge us with desiring to play any but a most modest and temperate part on the field of politics, and to warn us off altogether from it. How easily we are satisfied, when we are assured of sympathetic and righteous treatment by a frank and convinced acceptance of the principles of policy underlying the pledges and promises given to us, is shown by the fact that little as he actually did for us, Lord Ripon's name and fame are reverently and imperishably cherished in hearts of the millions of this country. The establishment of the Congress was almost synchronous with the departure of Lord Ripon from this

country. Ever since then, we have been endeavouring to formulate and place before Government measures upon which the country has come almost to an unanimous opinion as needed for the purpose of redressing grievances as well as promoting the legitimate welfare and progress of the people. It is a task which we undertook under a strong sense of duty. If, as the Viceroy eloquently said in his last Budget speech, "the country and its educated classes were making a steady advance on the path of intellectual and moral progress," it would have been a grave dereliction of duty if they had not come forward on the field of politics and, as I now repeat, what I repeated before, if they had not devoted their new culture and their energy to the task, not of supplanting their rulers but of supplementing the endeavours of the best and most sagacious among them by proposing modifications and developments based on their peculiar, intuitive, and native knowledge and information, and suggested in gratitude and loyalty by that enlightenment and education which we freely admit has been one of the most precious gifts bestowed upon us by British rule. A wise and prudent statesman would so encourage in performing this task by kindly sympathy and advice as to compel us, so to say, to perform it with anxious care and moderation. To me it seems a great political blunder to engender bitterness and excess by treating the Congress with dislike and resentment. It is for this reason that I deplore the attitude of our English friends towards the Congress. They have failed to understand the somewhat curious phenomenon, which they have recently observed, of some of our co-workers condemning the Congress for its disappointing inutility, and they have exultingly pointed out that this condemnation has proceeded from what has been considered the extreme wing of the Congress, and they have received

their denunciations of us with cheers. But let our rulers try to realize that the men whom they cheer do not possibly desire to abandon altogether the field of politics, but may in time be carried away vainly to imagine that the failure of constitutional methods like those of the Congress were an argument to substitute others not so strictly temperate. However that may be; I repeat now, as before, that we of the Congress have always steadily and firmly conceived our mission to be imposed by duty, sanctified by patriotism and guided by loyalty, unswayed by the resentment of our rulers, or by the despairing counsels of the pessimists among ourselves. Therefore it is that our mission has been blest and our labours have not been in vain. I thus come back to relate the record of the achievements of the Congress. I can do so briefly, as it has been excellently summarized in the last number of *India*, a paper whose valuable services to our cause, have not, I am afraid, been so fully appreciated as they have deserved, showing how imperfect are we ourselves,—a good thing to remember, especially when we are engaged in criticizing others. Our earliest efforts were directed towards securing a platform from which we could authoritatively expound our views, and they bore fruit in 1892 in the passing of the Indian Councils, and substantially and practically introducing the principle of election in the appointment of their members. The voice of the Congress was potent in obtaining the Commission for enquiring into Indian expenditure. Our demand for Simultaneous Examinations for the Indian Civil Service was so far successful that Mr. Paul's motion in favour of it was accepted by the House of Commons. The strenuous opposition to reduce the motion into practice offered by the Indian Government has hitherto prevailed. We had, however, obtained the Public

Service Commission whose recommendations, though not going far enough as we desired, and further throttled by the Government of India, still laid down principles, from which, alas, it is now attempted to retreat by autocratic action without any new public inquiry or deliberation. We have also urgently pressed upon the attention of Government, perhaps the most far-reaching and anxious problem of Indian administration, the economic problem of the poverty of the people and its concomitant agrarian indebtedness; and though Government fight shy of the only true remedies it is still a hopeful sign to see them labouring to discover less unpalatable solutions of the problem. Following upon the half-hearted trial of Agricultural Banks long suggested by us, we may still induce them to grant the enquiry so influentially recommended by the Indian Famine Union. Very early in our history we proved so conclusively the essential desirability in the interests of sound and just administration of the separation of judicial and executive functions that a statesman like Lord Dufferin felt constrained to admit it to be a counsel of perfection and we have so far succeeded that now it is only on the score of expense that the change is ostensibly shelved, the real reason being the strong disinclination of District officers to part with power once enjoyed, as if Revenue Officers did not possess power enough and to spare, with stringent Land Revenue Codes and the jealous exclusion of the jurisdiction of Civil Courts in revenue matters. One of the earliest subjects which engaged the attention of the Congress was the urgent need of a thorough reform and reorganization of the Police Force. The forecast of the Report of the Police Commission published in England has ultimately borne out the national view of the character of the force against the

official view which continued to insist that the aspersions to which the police was popularly subject were largely unjust and undeserved. In this connection I may be permitted to say one word as to the bureaucratic policy now in vogue with regard to the reports of and evidence taken by so-called Commissions. Formerly the reports and evidence were immediately issued to give time for public discussion and criticism before Government proceeded to deal with them. At St. Andrew's Dinner at Calcutta the other day, Sir Andrew Fraser vindicated the new policy not only with regard to the report of the Police Commission, but with regard also to other important subjects engaging the attention of Government, stating as an axiomatic truth that no statement could be properly made in regard to them till the decision of the Secretary of State for India was received. It seems to benighted non-officials like us that this course is an exaggeration of the demoralised attitude of a secret and irresponsible bureaucracy as Sir C. Dilke called it. The Secretary of State in this way arrives at a decision under the inspiration of the Government of India without the benefit of open and public discussion. And we know how hopeless it is to expect any modification of the decrees issued by the Secretary of State from subsequent discussion and criticism. Indeed, in such cases, we are gravely told that it would be sacrilegious to touch with profane hands the tablets sent down from Mount Sinai. The mischief thus done is so incalculable, that I would fain take the liberty to ask the bureaucrats of our Indian administration to ponder on the observations of one of the ablest and keenest of political thinkers—Mr. Walter Bagehot—"Not only" says he, "does a bureaucracy tend to under-Government in point of quality; it tends to over-Government in point of

quantity. The trained official hates the rude, untrained public. He thinks they are stupid, ignorant, reckless—that they cannot tell their own interest. A bureaucracy is sure to think that its duty is to augment official power, official business, or official members rather than leave free the energies of mankind; it over-does the quantity of Government as well as impairs its quality." These words were spoken of bureaucracy in civilized European countries. They apply with ten-fold force in this country with its Official Secrets Act, which it is a mistake to suppose is inert while it does not explode in public prosecutions. The Act puts a premium on corruption, on the one hand, and on the other it surely and inevitably deteriorates and demoralizes irresponsible officials working in the dark. To resume our narrative of the achievements of the Congress, we were the first, in spite of spurious claims to the honor, to draw attention in view of the poverty of the agricultural masses to the need of technical and industrial education, and forced it in many practical ways on the attention of the people as well as Government. In this connection, I trust that the scheme of an Institute of Research may not be allowed to fail on account of the death of Mr. Tata, a death the whole country deplores, but may soon become an accomplished fact, a magnificent monument of the patriotism and munificence of its author. We have also pressed upon Government the great cause of temperance. We advocated from the first reduction in the oppressive burden of the salt-tax and the raising of the assessable minimum of the income-tax, both which reforms have been recently carried out. I think I need not proceed further with my enumeration. It is an honourable record. It is a record which leaves no room for disappointment or despair. But further, as is again well pointed out in *India*, what is particularly apt to be

overlooked, is that "we are by no means sure but the greatest work of all is its negative work, where the results do not appear in any particular reform or political change." And I may well repeat here, to cheer our hearts and brace our energies, the beautiful lines quoted by Mr. Hume in his letter to us published in *India*.

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seemed here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in the main.

Laden with these gains, the Congress comes back to "its own native land." I well remember the day when we launched it anxiously, but hopefully, 20 years ago. When it came back to us in 1889, a babe only five years old, it had already broadened and strengthened wonderfully. It again comes back to us fifteen years after, a handsome lad on the point of attaining his majority. It has not escaped some jealousy and rivalry. Other children whom we are assured were pretty and handsome have been pressed upon us as deserving our love and affection. Well, gentlemen, our hearts are large and our minds are broad, and what we have done is that we have incontinently adopted them all. One, you will see in this very *Pandal*, a gentle and solemn little lady in a grave gathering assembling immediately after us. Another you will see, robust and vigorous, decorated with jewels and ornaments wrought in this very country, on the Oval yonder. But, gentlemen, our affections remain unchanged from our eldest-born, and we refuse to deprive him of his rights of primogeniture.

I think, gentlemen, I have said enough to show that we have met here together from all parts of the country to pursue a noble mission, hallowed to us from a sense of duty, of patriotism, and of loyalty, all welded

together by the principles of justice and righteousness which, after all is said and done, we gratefully recognize as the dominant principles of English rule in this country. We truly and earnestly respond to the words in which Lord Curzon adjured us the other day on his landing—"I pray, I pray the native community in India, to believe in the good faith, in the high honor and in the upright purpose of my countrymen." Gentlemen, it is because we do sincerely believe in that good faith, in that high honour and that upright purpose, that we meet here in the open light of day to appeal to their noble and righteous impulses, by all lawful and constitutional means, so to discharge the sacred trust reposed in them by Providence, that it may redound to the glory and greatness of both countries. But I must be pardoned for saying that when we respond to this prayer, we do not respond to it in the slavish spirit in which the great Earl of Strafford exhorted the people of England to obey the King ; " Let them attend upon his will with confidence in his justice, belief in his wisdom, and assurance in his parental affections." We respond to it rather in the spirit of an ideal sketched—I will take an extremely modern instance—by a highly placed Anglo-Indian Civil Servant whom,—though you will be perhaps surprised to hear it—I venture to describe as a Congresswala in disguise, as eloquent and as far-reaching as some of our own elders, say, Surendranath Bannerjea or Lalmohan Ghose. I refer to Sir William Lee-Warner. At an address delivered by him at the Elphinstone College Union, Sir William Lee-Warner eloquently depicted the ideal towards which British rule in India was tending :—

It is no narrow principle of a paternal Government or a rule for the benefit of the ruler which sent forth the Roman with his poet's sailing orders.

Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento, or which fostered differences as aiding the central authority, *Divide et impera*. Its aim is less to govern than to call forth the progressive capacity and to teach Self-Government. It desires to lift up the lower ranks of society and the subject to the pedestal of the ruler; 'Humanity' and Heaven's light our guide, are its watchwords, and they are embodied in your *Magna Charta*, the Queen's Proclamation, issued by the ruler whose authority had just been defied and restored by the sword. * * * *

There are three supreme ideas of mankind, the family, the nation and humanity. The Hindu and the Greek ruler thought of the first, the Roman Empire of the second; but the British nation accepts the last and highest as its ruling idea. * * * *

I venture to point out to you that from God's nature the British nation has learnt the grand idea of humanity, and that the legislation and administration of India under the Queen bears testimony to Her Majesty's desire to recognize a progressive future as before all those committed to her care. The protection of the weak, equality in the eye of the law, justice, and a common participation in the benefits, and when the time comes, in the task of good government are at least the aims which the British Government sets before it."

It is in the active spirit of this ideal that we respond, and respond cordially, to Lord Curzon's prayer to believe in the good faith, in the high honor, and in the upright purpose of his countrymen. May we pray in return that when we ask to be allowed to co-operate in this noble task, that Lord Curzon and his countrymen will believe that we, too, of the Congress are inspired by duty, patriotism and loyalty.

I again tender to you my warmest welcome—a welcome mixed of gratitude for the past and high hope for the future, with Patience and Perseverance for our motto. Let us take to our hearts the homely but noble words of Longfellow :—

“Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.”

THE HON. MR. G. K. GOKHALE

Though comparatively young, the Hon. G. K. Gokhale has won his way to the esteem and admiration of all classes of Indians, nay more, he enjoys the esteem of even Anglo-Indians. That this enviable reputation is the fruit of a combination of rare qualities and of valuable services rendered to the country, the following brief sketch of his life and career will show.

He was born at Kolhapur, in an humble family of Maharatta Brahmins in the year 1866. He was educated in the local college, till he passed the F. A. Examination. He then went up to the Bombay Elphinstone College and took his B. A. degree in 1884.

His student career was now at an end, and having to choose a career in life, he chose the schoolmaster's profession. With rare nobility of purpose, he joined the Deccan Education Society, famous for the self-sacrifice of its members and their zeal in the cause of education. He became Professor of History and Political Economy in the Fergusson College, Poona, on a salary of Rs. 70 a month and vowed to devote himself to educational work in the College for 20 years. Needless to say, he kept his vow and in course of time he rose to be Principal of the Fergusson College. Hundreds of students have passed through his hands and must have caught something of the fire of his enthusiasm for high and noble things. It is only when men of his type dedicate themselves to educational work that education bears its proper fruit and the character of scholars moulded on right

lines. Although during the twenty years spent in the Fergusson College, Mr. Gokhale was not much in evidence on the platform or in the press, yet those were years when many a young man received from him the necessary stimulus for the growth of mind and expansion of character.

While he was in the Fergusson College, there were other activities which shared his attention with educational work. About the time that he entered the Fergusson College, Mr. Gokhale came under the influence of the late Mr. Justice Ranade by whom, more than by any other, we may say that the life and character of Mr. Gokhale have been moulded. Under the masterful guidance of Mr. Ranade, Mr. Gokhale devoted himself to the study of political economy for over twelve years, with the result that to-day, Mr. Gokhale is one of the few men in India who can speak with authority on economical problems. No wonder Mr. Gokhale entertains the highest reverence for the late Mr. Ranade and regards him as his *guru*. In 1887, in compliance with Mr. Ranade's wish, Mr. Gokhale became the editor of the *Quarterly Journal* of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha. Subsequently he became Honorary Secretary of the Deccan Sabha. He was also one of the editors of the *Sudharak*, an Anglo-Marathi weekly, of Poona. He was Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference for four years and of the Indian National Congress held at Poona in 1895. His earnestness and knowledge of public affairs became so well known and appreciated that he was called the Rising Star of the Deccan. It was natural, therefore, that in 1897 he was selected along with Mr. Wacha by the Bombay public to go to England and give evidence before the Welby Commission on Indian expenditure. The very valuable evidence which he gave

showed what a mastery he had acquired of the problems which British rule in India presents. The most noteworthy point in the evidence was, perhaps, his insistence on the emasculation which British rule entails upon the Indian people,—a point which our revered countryman Dadhabai Naorojee was never weary of emphasising. Mr. Gokhale pointed out how, to use his own favourite expression, under British rule in India the tallest had to bend in order that the exigencies of the situation might be satisfied. While, in England, he delivered several speeches on Indian affairs. He also published a scathing condemnation of the plague policy of the Bombay Government and the atrocities of soldiers on plague duty. The criticism provoked a howl of indignation and he was assailed by abuse and obloquy from all sides. When he returned to India he was called upon to substantiate his charges, and on friends who had furnished him with information refusing to come forward to support him, he could do nothing but tender an apology to the Bombay Government. Some time after, he was elected a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. In 1902, he retired from the Principalship of the Fergusson College on a pension of Rs. 25 a month, and about the same time he was elected to represent Bombay on the Supreme Legislative Council in place of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, whose ill-health prevented his continuing in the office; and so well has Mr. Gokhale acquitted himself that he has since been re-elected successively.

His election to the Supreme Legislative Council opens a new chapter in his life wherein are recorded some of his greatest triumphs in the service of his country. His very first Budget Speech came as a revelation to the public. Ever since, his speech on the occasion of the

Budget has been looked forward to with eager interest. What is the secret of this public interest in his speeches generally, and in his Budget ones in particular? Wherein does his strength consist? His strength consists in his mastery of facts and figures, in his thorough and astonishingly detailed knowledge of administrative problems, in his high financial ability, in his command of simple, clear, vigorous expression, in his studious moderation of tone, and in his downright earnestness of purpose. Year after year he has explained how the surpluses shown in the Financial Statement are artificial and do not indicate the prosperity of the people, year after year he has asked for the larger enjoyment of Indians in public service, year after year he has pleaded for reductions in military expenditure, year after year he has asked for the abolition of the salt-tax, for the larger expenditure on irrigation works and technical education, year after year he has asked for free and compulsory primary education, and urged several other reforms. Without forgetting that the recent reduction in the salt-tax has been due largely to his pleadings, it must be confessed that his voice has, on the whole, been that of one crying in the wilderness. Mr. Gokhale has fought bravely in the Council on many an other occasion. On the day when he made his speech on the Universities Bill, Lord Curzon had come to the Council with the intention of not speaking. But so effective was the speech of Mr. Gokhale that His Lordship changed his mind and replied to the criticisms of Mr. Gokhale in his usual eloquent style. It was acknowledged even in the columns of Anglo-Indian papers, that the eloquence of the Viceroy did not minimise the effect produced by Mr. Gokhale's speech. Equally stout was the opposition which he offered to the Official Secrets Bill. The Universities Act Validating Bill was introduced into the Council

without sufficient notice having been given to the members. Though Mr. Gokhale had to speak on the spur of the moment, his speech was generally regarded as a triumph of debating skill. No less effective in 1907, was the speech he made on the Seditious Meetings Bill, in which he gave a crushing refutation to the Government case in favour of the Bill. His speeches in the Supreme Council have earned for him the admiration and even the goodwill of the Anglo-Indian community. Some of the most highly placed officials in India are his personal friends, and even Lord Curzon, the masterful Viceroy that he was recognized in Mr. Gokhale 'a foeman not unworthy of his steel.' He is reported to have said that it was a pleasure to cross swords with Mr. Gokhale and that Mr. Gokhale was the ablest Indian he had come across. Though Mr. Gokhale was his most uncompromising opponent in the Council, His Lordship, in token of his admiration for his ability and character, was generous enough to decorate him with the title of C. L. E. and also wrote a private letter to Mr. Gokhale congratulating him on the decoration. Anglo-Indians, too, dare not speak of him as a 'demagogue' as they do of other Indian leaders.

Mr. Gokhale joined the Congress movement at an early stage of its career. He has been present at most sessions of the Congress and delivered several speeches on the Congress platform. One of the most notable of these was the speech that he delivered at the Bombay Congress in 1904 on 'Surpluses', a speech which according to Sir Henry Cotton, would compare favourably with the best speeches heard in the House of Commons.

In 1905, he was sent as a delegate to England by the Bombay public, to explain the political situation in India to the British electorate. He discharged his

mission most satisfactorily, delivering no less than 45 speeches in the course of 50 days. Many competent men who heard him in England expressed themselves as charmed by his presentation of the Indian view of the British Government in India. Before he left for England he had been chosen President of the National Congress, which was to meet in the following December in the sacred city of Benares. His work in England put such a strain upon his powers that his health was affected, and he had to undergo a throat operation before returning to India to preside over the deliberations of the Benares Congress. His Presidential address at the Benares session was a most lucid and masterly performance. The most remarkable passage in the address was perhaps where he indicated the immediate reforms on which the Congress should concentrate its attention, the irreducible minimum, as it were, which alone would satisfy the political aspirations of educated Indians. Shortly after the Benares Congress was over, he proceeded again to England and this time he had several interviews with Mr. John (now Lord) Morley which inspired him with great faith in the Liberal Ministry, a faith which must have been severely tried by subsequent events. He once again went to England in 1908 in view of the Reform Proposals of Lord Minto.

Mr. Gokhale has more than once emphasised the necessity there is for at least a few men in every province in India coming forward to give themselves up wholly to political work in a religious spirit. In fact it has been his long cherished ambition to form an order of political *Sannyasins* whose one aim will be the service of their country. His ambition has recently taken shape and the public have heard of the aims and objects of the Servants of India Society. This Society is animated by

the noblest aims; and may we here express the hope that in coming years, it will be more and more of a power for usefulness of the highest kind in the land? The Servants of India Society, if the scheme reaches perfect fruition, will be among the greatest of Mr. Gokhale's claims on the gratitude of all well-wishers of this country.

A few words about Mr. Gokhale's style of speaking. Mr. Gokhale is not an orator. He does not deliberately address himself to the emotions. He aims at conviction more than at moving the passions. His delivery is rapid. His armoury is full of facts and figures. His reasoning is close and earnest and his style is simple, terse and vigorous.

Mr. Gokhale is an ardent social reformer, as should be expected of a disciple of Mr. Ranade. He also conducts a daily Marathi paper in Poona, called the *Dayan Prakash*, which is devoted to the propagation of his social and political views.

His private life is extremely simple, even austere; in fact, as Mr. Nevinson said of him, he has, like a true Brahmin, dedicated his life to poverty and knowledge. No better example could be found of the old, old Indian ideal of plain living and high thinking.

Mr. Gokhale's whole life has been an offering at the altar of service to the Motherland. It is not given to all of us to be intellectually as able and brilliant as Mr. Gokhale, but it is given to every one of us to be earnest according to his lights. And because Mr. Gokhale is deeply earnest according to his lights, the whole country respects him; friend and foe alike bow to his name. And is there any who happens to read this sketch, and who will not join with us in saying "May he long be spared! And may his shadow never grow less!"

TWENTY-FIRST INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Presidential address delivered by the Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., at the Twenty-first session of the Indian National Congress held at Benares in 1905.

FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great, the signal honour which you have conferred upon me by electing me to preside over your deliberations this year. As has been said by more than one of my predecessors, the Presidentship of the Congress is the highest distinction which it is in the power of our countrymen to bestow upon any one; and proud, indeed, is that moment in an Indian's life when he receives at your hands this most conspicuous mark of your confidence and your favour. As I, however, stand before you to-day, it is not so much the honour of the position, great as that is, as the responsibility which it imposes upon me, that occupies my thoughts. When I was first invited nearly four months ago to accept this office, we were able to see on the horizon only the small cloud—no bigger than a man's hand. Since then the sky has been overcast and for some time a storm has been raging; and it is with rocks ahead and angry waves beating around that I am called upon to take charge of the vessel of the Congress. Even the stoutest heart among us may well own to a feeling of anxiety in such a situation. Let us, however, humbly trust that in this holy city of Benares, the Divine guidance, on which we may securely throw ourselves, will not fail

us, and that the united wisdom and patriotism of the delegates assembled will enable the Congress to emerge from the present crisis with unimpaired and even enhanced prestige and usefulness.

Gentlemen, our first duty to-day is to offer our most loyal and dutiful welcome to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of this their first visit to India. The Throne in England is above all parties—beyond all controversies. It is the permanent seat of the majesty, the honour and the beneficence of the British Empire. And in offering our homage to its illustrious occupants and their heirs and representatives, we not only perform a loyal duty, but also express the gratitude of our hearts for all that is noble and high-minded in England's connection with India. The late Queen-Empress, again, was known, within the limits of her constitutional position, to exercise during her reign her vast influence in favour of a policy of justice and sympathy towards the Indian people. We can never forget that the great proclamation of 1858, on which we take our stand so largely in our constitutional struggle, was not only in spirit but also in substance, her own declaration of the principles on which India was to be governed. The present King-Emperor has announced his resolve to walk in the footsteps of his mother, and we have no doubt that the Prince of Wales is animated by the same desire to see a policy of righteousness pursued towards India. We rejoice that His Royal Highness and his noble consort have come out amongst us to acquaint themselves personally with the ancient civilization of this country and its present condition. The Congress earnestly and respectfully wishes Their Royal Highnesses a most successful tour through India,

and it humbly trusts that the knowledge they will acquire and the recollections they will carry back with them will constitute a fresh bond of sympathy and attachment between the Royal family in England and the Princes and the people of this country.

The Congress also offers a most cordial and respectful welcome to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Minto. The new Viceroy assumes the responsibilities of his office at a critical juncture. The temper of the people, so sorely tried during the last three years, calls for the exercise of wise and statesmanlike conciliation on the part of those who are in authority, if further estrangement between the rulers and the ruled is to be prevented. I earnestly trust that such conciliation will be forthcoming. Meanwhile, a special responsibility rests upon us all to see to it that the immediate task that confronts His Excellency is not made more difficult than it already is. The difficulties of the situation are not of Lord Minto's creating, and he has a right to expect the co-operation of both the officials and the public in his endeavours to terminate a state of tension, which has already produced deplorable results and which cannot be prolonged without serious detriment to the best interests of the country.

Gentlemen, how true it is that to every thing there is an end! Thus even the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon has come to a close! For seven long years all eyes had constantly to turn to one masterful figure in the land,—now in admiration, now in astonishment, more often in anger and in pain, till at last it has become difficult to realize that a change has really come. For a parallel to such an administration, we must, I think, go back to the times of Aurangzeb in the history of our own country. There we find the same attempt at a rule excessively centralized and intensely personal, the same strenuous.

purpose, the same overpowering consciousness of duty, the same marvellous capacity for work, the same sense of loneliness, the same persistence in a policy of distrust and repression, resulting in bitter exasperation all round. I think even the most devoted admirer of Lord Curzon cannot claim that he has strengthened the foundations of British rule in India. In some respects his Lordship will always be recognized as one of the greatest Englishmen that ever came out to this country. His wonderful intellectual gifts, his brilliant powers of expression, his phenomenal energy, his boundless enthusiasm for work,—these will ever be a theme of just and unstinted praise. But the gods are jealous, and amidst such lavish endowments, they withheld from him a sympathetic imagination, without which no man can ever understand an alien people; and it is a sad truth that to the end of his administration Lord Curzon did not really understand the people of India. This was at the root of his many inconsistencies and made him a perpetual puzzle to most men. And thus the man, who professed in all sincerity, before he assumed the reins of office, his great anxiety to show the utmost deference to the feelings and even the prejudices of those over whom he was set to rule, ended by denouncing in unmeasured terms not only the present generation of Indians, but also their remote ancestors and even the ideals of their race, which they cherish above everything else; he, who, in the early part of his administration, publicly warned the official classes that “official wisdom is not so transcendent as to be superior to the stimulus and guidance” of public opinion and who declared that in the present state of India “the opinion of the educated classes is one which it is not statesmanship to ignore or to despise,” ended by trampling more systematically

upon that opinion than any of his predecessors, and claiming for his own judgment and that of his official colleagues a virtual character of infallibility. The fact is that Lord Curzon came to India with certain fixed ideas. To him India was a country where the Englishman was to monopolize for all time all power and talk all the while of duty. The Indian's only business was to be governed and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country; and having failed to amuse them for any length of time by an empty show of taking them into his confidence, he proceeded in the end to repress them. Even in his last farewell speech at the Byculla Club in Bombay, India exists only as a scene of the Englishman's labours, with the toiling millions of the country—eighty per cent. of the population in the background. The remaining twenty per cent., for aught they are worth, might as well be gently swept into the sea! Had Lord Curzon been less self-centred, had he more humility in his nature, he might perhaps have discovered his mistake before it was too late. This would probably have enabled him to avoid giving so much offence and causing so much pain as he unhappily did during the last two years, but I doubt if the main current of his administration would even then have flowed in another channel. Lord Curzon's highest ideal of statesmanship is efficiency of administration. He does not believe in what Mr. Gladstone used to call the principle of liberty as a factor of human progress. He has no sympathy with popular aspirations, and when he finds them among a subject people, he thinks he is rendering their country a service by trying to put them down. Thus, in his Byculla Club speech he actually stated that he had not offered political concessions to the people of India

because he "did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India itself to do so." Taking Lord Curzon at his highest, we find him engaged in a herculean attempt to strengthen the Englishman's monopoly of power in India and stem the tide of popular agitation and discontent by rousing the members of the bureaucracy to a sense of duty similar to his own and raising the standard of administrative efficiency all round. The attempt has failed, as it was bound to fail. Never was discontent in India more acute and widespread than when the late Viceroy laid down the reins of office; and as regards the bureaucratic monopoly of power, I think we are sensibly nearer the time when it will be successfully assailed.

One claim Lord Curzon advanced in his farewell speech at Bombay which it is necessary to examine a little. He told his hearers, as he had done once before—on the occasion of the last Budget debate—that even if he had incurred the hostility of educated Indians, the masses would be grateful to him for what he had done for them. This attempt to distinguish between the interests of the educated classes and those of the bulk of their countrymen is a favourite device with those who seek to repress the legitimate aspirations of our people. It is significant that Lord Curzon had never resorted to it till he had finally broken with the educated classes. We know of course that the distinction is unreal and ridiculous, and we know also that most of those who use it as a convenient means to disparage the educated classes cannot themselves really believe in it. Lord Curzon mentions the reduction of the salt duty, the writing off of famine arrears, the increased grants to primary education and to irrigation, the attempt at police reform, as measures on which he bases his claim. The suggestion here is that he adopted these measures for the good of the masses in spite

of the opposition—at any rate, the indifference—of the educated classes, when the plain fact is that it was the Congress that had been urging these measures year after year on the attention of Government and that it was only after years of persistent agitation that it was able to move the Government in the desired direction. Four years ago, when, with a surplus of seven crores or nearly five millions sterling in hand, the Government of India did not remit any taxation, and I ventured to complain of this in Council and to urge an immediate reduction of the salt-duty, I well remember how Lord Curzon sneered at those who “talked glibly” of the burdens of the masses and of the necessity of lowering the salt-tax as a measure of relief! Lord Curzon was fortunate in coming to India when the currency legislation of Lord Lansdowne and Sir David Barbour had succeeded in artificially raising the rupee to its present level, thereby enabling the Government of India to save about four millions sterling a year on its Home remittances. This, with the recovery of the opium revenue, placed huge surpluses at Lord Curzon’s disposal throughout his administration, and he never knew a moment of that financial stress and anxiety which his predecessors had to face for a series of years. Considering how large these surpluses have been, I do not think the relief given by Lord Curzon to the taxpayers of the country has by any means been liberal. He himself estimated the total amount of this relief at 7 millions sterling. He did not mention that during the same time he had taken from the taxpayers 33 millions sterling over and above the requirements of the Government. Again, how paltry is the relief given by the reduction of the salt-duty and the writing off of famine arrears, compared with the enormous injury done to the masses of our people by the artificial raising of the

value of the rupee, which led to a heavy immediate depreciation of their small savings in silver, and which makes a grievous addition to their permanent burdens by indirectly enhancing their assessments and increasing their debts to the money-lender as prices adjust themselves to the new rupee! Much has been made of Lord Curzon's increased grants to primary education. Considering how little the State does in India for the education of the masses, it would have been astonishing, if with such surpluses Lord Curzon had not made any addition to the educational expenditure of the country. But if he has given a quarter of a million more to education, he has given five millions a year more to the Army; and with reckless profusion he has increased the salaries of European officials in many departments and has created several new posts for them. "A spirit of expenditure," to use an expression of Mr. Gladstone, has been abroad in all directions during his time and he has never practised the old-fashioned virtue of economy, with which the real interests of the people are bound up. Of course, a ruler cannot labour as devotedly as Lord Curzon has done for seven years for increased efficiency without removing or mitigating important administrative evils; but that is quite different from a claim to champion the special interests of the people as against their natural leaders and spokesmen, the educated classes of the community.

Gentlemen, the question that is upper most in the minds of us all at this moment is the Partition of Bengal. A cruel wrong has been inflicted on our Bengalee brethren and the whole country has been stirred to its deepest depths in sorrow and resentment, as had never been the case before. The scheme of partition concocted in the dark and carried out in the face of the fiercest

opposition that any Government measure has encountered during the last half a century, will always stand as a complete illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule—its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom, its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people, the mockery of an appeal to its sense of justice, its cool preference of Service interests to those of the governed. Lord Curzon and his advisers—if he ever had any advisers—could never allege that they had no means of judging of the depth of public feeling in the matter. All that could possibly have been done by way of a respectful representation of the views of the people had been done. As soon as it was known that a partition of some sort was contemplated, meeting after meeting of protest was held, till over five hundred public meetings in all parts of the Province had proclaimed in no uncertain voice that the attempt to dismember a compact and homogeneous Province, to which the people were passionately attached and of which they were justly proud, was deeply resented and would be resisted to the uttermost. Memorials to the same effect poured in upon the Viceroy. The Secretary of State for India was implored to withhold his sanction to the proposed measure. The intervention of the British House of Commons was sought, first, by a monster petition, signed by sixty thousand people, and later by means of a debate on the subject raised in the House by our ever-watchful friend, Mr. Herbert Roberts. All proved unavailing. The Viceroy had made up his mind. The officials under him had expressed approval. What business had the people to have an opinion of their own and to stand in the way? To add insult to injury, Lord Curzon described the opposition to his measure as

'manufactured'—an opposition in which all classes of Indians, high and low, uneducated and educated, Hindus and Mahomedans, had joined. An opposition than which nothing more intense, nothing more widespread, nothing more spontaneous had been seen in this country in the whole course of our political agitation! Let it be remembered that when the late Viceroy cast this stigma on those who were ranged against his proposals, not a single public pronouncement in favour of those proposals had been made by any section of the community; and that among the foremost opponents of the measure were men like Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore and Sir Gurudas Banerji, Raja Peary Mohan Mukerji and Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, the Maharajas of Mymensing and Kasimbazar,—men who keep themselves aloof from ordinary political agitation and never say a word calculated in any way to embarrass the authorities, and who came forward to oppose publicly the Partition Project only from an overpowering sense of the necessity of their doing what they could to avert a dreaded calamity. If the opinions of even such men are to be brushed aside with contempt, if all Indians are to be treated as no better than dumb, driven cattles, if men, whom any other country would delight to honour, are to be thus made to realize the utter humiliation and helplessness of their position in their own, then all I can say is "Good-bye to all hope of co-operating in any way with the bureaucracy in the interests of the people! I can conceive of no graver indictment of British rule than that such a state of things should be possible after a hundred years of that rule!

Gentlemen, I have carefully gone through all the papers which have been published by the Government on

this subject of Partition. Three things have struck me forcibly—a determination to dismember Bengal at all costs, and anxiety to promote the interests of Assam at the expense of Bengal, and a desire to suit everything to the interests and convenience of the Civil Service. It is not merely that a number of new prizes have been thrown into the lap of that Service—one Lieutenant Governorship, two Memberships of the Board of Revenue, one Commissionership of a Division, several Secretaryships and Under-Secretaryships—but alternative schemes of readjustment have been rejected on the express ground that their adoption would be unpopular with the members of the Service. Thus, even if a reduction of the charge of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had really become inevitable—a contention which the greatest living authority on the subject, Sir Henry Cotton, who was Secretary to the Bengal Government under seven Lieutenant-Governors, does not admit—one would have thought that the most natural course to take was to separate Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpore from Bengal and form them into a separate Province. This would have made the Western province one of 30 millions in place of the Eastern. But this, says the Government of India, “would take from Bengal all its best districts and would make the Province universally unpopular.” This was, of course, a fatal objection, for compared with the displeasure of the Civil Service, the trampling under foot of public opinion and the outraging of the deepest feelings of a whole people was a small matter! But one can see that administrative considerations were really one secondary in the determination of this question. The dismemberment of Bengal had become necessary, because, in the view of the Government of India, “it cannot be for the lasting good of any country or any people that public opinion or what

passes for it should be manufactured by a comparatively small number of people at a single centre and should be disseminated thence for universal adoption, all other views being discouraged or suppressed." "From every point of view," the Government further states, "it appears to us desirable to encourage the growth of centres of independent opinion, local aspirations, local ideals and to preserve the growing intelligence and enterprise of Bengal from being cramped and stunted by the process of forcing it prematurely into a mould of rigid and sterile uniformity." You will see that this is only a paraphrase in Lord Curzon's most approved style, of the complaint of the people of Bengal that their fair Province has been dismembered to destroy their growing solidarity, check their national aspirations and weaken their power of co-operating for national ends, lessen the influence of their educated classes with their countrymen, and reduce the political importance of Calcutta. After this, let no apologist of the late Viceroy pretend that the object of the partition was administrative convenience and not political repression!

Gentlemen, it is difficult to speak in terms of due restraint of Lord Curzon's conduct throughout this affair. Having published his earlier and smaller scheme for public criticism, it was his clear duty to publish similarly the later and larger scheme which he afterwards substituted for it. But in consequence of the opposition which the first scheme encountered, he abandoned the idea of taking the public any more into his confidence and proceeded to work in the matter in the dark. For more than a year nothing further was heard of his intentions, and while he was silently elaborating the details of his measure, he allowed the impression to prevail that the Government had abandoned the Partition

project. And in the end, when he had succeeded in securing the Secretary of State's sanction to the scheme, it was from Simla, where he and his official colleagues were beyond the reach of public opinion, that he sprang the final orders of Government upon an unprepared people. Then, suddenly, came his resignation. And the people permitted themselves for a while to hope that it would bring them at least a brief respite especially as Mr. Brodrick had promised shortly before to present further papers on the subject to Parliament, and that was understood to mean that the scheme would not be brought into operation till Parliament re-assembled at the beginning of next year. Of course, after Lord Curzon's resignation, the only proper, the only dignified course for him was to take no step, which it was difficult to revoke and the consequences of which would have to be faced, not by him, but by his successor ; he owed it to Lord Minto to give him an opportunity to examine the question for himself ; he owed it to the Royal visitors not to plunge the largest Province of India into violent agitation and grief on the eve of their visit to it. But Lord Curzon was determined to partition Bengal before he left India and so he rushed the necessary legislation through the Legislative Council at Simla, which only the official members could attend, and enforced his orders on the 16th October last—a day observed as one of universal mourning by all classes of people in Bengal. And now, while he himself has gone from India, what a sea of troubles he has bequeathed to his successor ! Fortunately there are grounds to believe that Lord Minto will deal with the situation with tact, firmness and sympathy and it seems he has already pulled up to some extent Lord Curzon's favourite Lieutenant, the first ruler of the new Eastern Province. Mr. Fuller has evidently cast to the winds all prudence

all restraint, all sense of responsibility. Even if a fraction of what the papers have been reporting be true, his extraordinary doings must receive the attention of the new Secretary of State for India and the House of Commons. There is no surer method of goading a docile people into a state of dangerous despair than the kind of hectoring and repression he has been attempting.

But, gentlemen, as has been well said, even in things evil there is a soul of goodness, and the dark times through which Bengal has passed and is passing have not been without a message of bright hope for the future. The tremendous upheaval of popular feelings which has taken place in Bengal in consequence of the partition, will constitute a landmark in the history of our national progress. For the first time since British rule began, all sections of the Indian community, without distinction of caste or creed, have been moved by a common impulse and without the stimulus of external pressure to act together in offering resistance to a common wrong. A wave of true national consciousness has swept over the Province, and at its touch old barriers have, for the time at any rate, been thrown down, personal jealousies have vanished, other controversies have been hushed! Bengal's heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled bureaucracy has astonished and gratified all India and her sufferings have not been endured in vain, when they have helped to draw closer all parts of the country in sympathy and in aspiration. A great rush and upraising of the waters, such as has been recently witnessed in Bengal, cannot take place without a little inundation over the banks here and there. These little excesses are inevitable, when large masses of men move spontaneously--especially when the movement is from darkness into light, from bondage towards freedom

—and they must not be allowed to disconcert us too much. The most astounding fact of the situation is that the public life of this country has received an accession of strength of great importance, and for this all India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal. Of course, the difficulties which confront the leaders of Bengal are enormous and perhaps they have only just begun. But I know there is no disposition to shrink from any responsibilities and I have no doubt that whatever sacrifices are necessary will be cheerfully made. All India is at their back and they will receive in the work that lies before them the cordial sympathy and assistance of the other Provinces. Any discredit that is allowed to fall on them affects us all. They, on their side, must not forget that the honour of all India is at present in their keeping.

Gentlemen, I will now say a few words on a movement which has spread so rapidly and has been hailed with so much enthusiasm all over the country during the last few months—the Swadeshi movement. It is necessary at the outset to distinguish it from another movement, started in Bengal, which has really given it such immense impetus—the boycott of British goods. We all know that when our Bengalee brethren found that nothing would turn the late Viceroy from his purpose of partitioning Bengal, that all their protests in the press and on the platform, all their memorials to him, to the Secretary of State and to Parliament were unavailing, that the Government exercised its despotic strength to trample on their most cherished feelings and injure their dearest interests and that no protection against this of any kind was forthcoming from any quarter, they, in their extremity, resolved to have recourse to this boycott movement. This they did with a two-fold

object—first, as a demonstration of their deep resentment at the treatment they were receiving and secondly, to attract the attention of the people in England to their grievances, so that those who were in a position to call the Government of India to account might understand what was taking place in India. It was thus as a political weapon, used for a definite political purpose, that they had recourse to the boycott; and in the circumstances of their position they had every justification for the step they took. And I can tell you from personal experience that their action has proved immensely effective in drawing the attention of English people to the state of things in our country. But a weapon like this must be reserved only for extreme occasions. There are obvious risks involved in its failure and it cannot be used with sufficient effectiveness, unless there is an extraordinary upheaval of popular feeling behind it. It is bound to rouse angry passions on the other side, and no true well-wisher of his country will be responsible for provoking such passions, except under an overpowering sense of necessity. On an extreme occasion, of course a boycotting demonstration is perfectly legitimate, but that occasion must be one to drive all the classes, as in Bengal, to act with one impulse, and make all leaders sink their personal differences in the presence of a common danger. It is well to remember that the term 'boycott,' owing to its origin, has got unsavoury associations, and it conveys to the mind before everything else a vindictive desire to injure another. Such a desire on our part, as a normal feature of our relations with England, is of course out of the question. Moreover, if the boycott is confined to British goods only, it leaves us free to purchase the goods of other foreign countries, and this does not help the *Swadeshi* movement in any way.

Gentlemen, the true *Swadeshi* movement is both a patriotic and an economic movement. The idea of *Swadeshi* or 'one's own country' is one of the noblest conceptions that has ever stirred the heart of humanity. As the poet asks—

'Breathes there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,—
This is my own, my native land!'

The devotion to motherland, which is enshrined in the highest *Swadeshi*, is an influence so profound and so passionate that its very thought thrills and its actual touch lifts one out of oneself. India needs to-day above everything else that the gospel of this devotion should be preached to high and low, to Prince and to peasant, in town and hamlet, till the service of motherland becomes with us as overmastering a passion as it is in Japan. The *Swadeshi* movement, as it is ordinarily understood, presents one part of this gospel to the mass of our people in a form which brings it within their comprehension. It turns their thoughts to their country, accustoms them to the idea of voluntarily making some sacrifice for her sake, enables them to take an intelligent interest in her economic development and teaches them the important lesson of co-operating with one another for a national end. All this is most valuable work, and those who undertake it are entitled to feel that they are engaged in a highly patriotic mission. But the movement on its material side is an economic one; and though self-denying ordinances, extensively entered into, must serve a valuable economic purpose, namely, to ensure a ready consumption of such articles as are produced in the country and to furnish a perpetual stimulus to production by keeping the demand for indigenous things largely in excess of the supply, the difficulties that

surround the question economically are so great that they require the co-operation of every available agency to surmount them. The problem is, indeed, one of the first magnitude. Twelve years ago the late Mr. Ranade remarked at an Industrial Conference held at Poona: "The political domination of one country by another attracts far more attention than the more formidable, though unfelt, domination which the capital, enterprise and skill of one country exercise over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an insidious influence which paralyses the springs of all the varied activities, which together make up the life of a nation." The question of production is a question of capital, enterprise and skill, and in all these factors our deficiency at present is very great. Whoever can help in any one of these fields is, therefore, a worker in the *Swadeshi* cause and should be welcomed as such. Not by methods of exclusion but by those of comprehension, not by insisting on every one working in the same part of the field but by leaving each one free to select his own corner by attracting to the cause all who are likely to help and not alienating any who are already with us, are the difficulties of the problem likely to be overcome. Above all, let us see to it that there are no fresh divisions in the country in the name of *Swadeshim*. No greater perversion of its true spirit could be imagined than that.

Take the question of cotton piece-goods, of which we import at present over 22 millions sterling worth a year. This is by far the heaviest item among our imports and our present *Swadeshi* agitation is directed mainly towards producing as much of these goods in our own country as possible. I have consulted three of the best experts available in India on this subject—Mr. Bazanji of

Nagpore, the right-hand man of the late Mr. Tata in mill matters, the Hon. Mr. Vithaldos Damodardhas, who has written an admirable paper on the cotton industry for the Industrial Conference and has kindly placed a copy of it at my disposal and our friend Mr. Wacha. They are all agreed about the requirements and the difficulties of the situation. So far as the cotton fabrics are concerned, even strict Free Traders should have nothing to say against the encouragement, which the *Swadeshi* movement seeks to give to their manufactures in India. In the first place, many of the usual objections that may be urged against a system of State protection do not apply to helpful voluntary action on the part of consumers, such as the *Swadeshi* movement endeavours to promote. Moreover, the essence of Free Trade is that a commodity should be produced where the comparative cost of its production is the least and that it should be consumed where its relative value is the highest; and if accidental circumstances have thwarted such an adjustment in a given case, any agency which seeks to overcome the impediment works in the end in the interests of true Free Trade. Now every one will admit that with cheap labour and cotton at her own door, India enjoys exceptional advantages for the manufacture of cotton goods; and if the *Sawadeshi* movements help her to regain her natural position in this respect—position which she once occupied but out of which she has been driven by an extraordinary combination of circumstances,—the movement works not against but in furtherance of true Free Trade. Even at present the cotton industry in India is an important one. It is the largest industry after agriculture in the country; it is also the only one—agriculture excepted—in which the Indians themselves have a substantial share. It is represented by a paid-up

capital of about 17 crores of rupees or a little over 11 millions sterling ; the number of mills being about 200 with five million spindles and fifty thousand power-looms. In addition to this, there are, according to the Census of 1901, about a quarter of a crore of persons engaged in hand-loom weaving in the country. Our mills consume nearly 60 per cent. of the cotton produce of India and produce 58 crore lbs. of yarn. Of this quantity, Mr. Vithaldas tells us, about $23\frac{1}{2}$ crore lbs. is exported to China and other foreign countries, about $13\frac{1}{2}$ crores is used in our weaving mills, and about 19 crores is woven by hand-loom weavers, the remaining 2 crores going to the manufacture of rope and twine. In addition to this, 3 crore lbs. of yarn is imported from the United Kingdom and is consumed by the hand-looms. The hand-loom industry of the country thus absorbs, in spite of its hard struggles, about 22 crore lbs. of yarn, or nearly double the quantity woven by power-looms, and this is a most interesting and significant fact. The yarn used by the weaving mills produces about 55 crores of yards of cloth of which about 14 crore yards is exported to foreign countries and about 41 crores is left for consumption in the country. If we put down the production of the hand-looms at about 90 crore yards, we have about 130 crore yards as the quantity of *Swadeshi* cloth consumed at present in India.

The quantity of piece-goods imported from the United Kingdom and retained for use in the country is about 205 crore yards a year. On the total cloth consumed, therefore, over one-third is at present *Swadeshi*. This is an encouraging feature on the situation. But the imported cloth is almost all superior in quality. "While our mills," Mr. Vithaldas says, "produce the coarser cloth, say from

yarn up to 30s. count and in a few cases up to 40s. the bulk of the imported cloth is of the finer quality "using yarn over 30s. count. The Indian weaving mills are obliged to restrict themselves for the most part to weaving coarser cloth owing to the inferior quality of cotton now grown in the country." It may be noted that even from existing cotton, hand-loomers can, owing to their greater delicacy of handling the yarn, produce finer cloth than the power-loomers. Fortunately, owing to the exertions of the Agricultural Department of the Bombay Government—exertions for which it is entitled to the best thanks of the whole country—Egyptian cotton has just been successfully introduced into Sind, and this year a thousand bales of a quality equal to very good Egyptian have been produced. A much heavier crop is expected next year and there is no doubt that its cultivation will rapidly extend. The main difficulty in the way of our manufacturing the quality of cloth that is at present imported is one of capital. Mr. Wacha estimates that if the whole quantity of 205 crore yards is to be produced by mills, the industry requires an additional capital of about 30 crores of rupees. Even if we proposed to spread this over ten years, we should require an addition 'of 3 crores of rupees every year. Now if we turn to the Statistical Abstract of British India, we shall find that the total increase in the capital invested in cotton mills during the last ten years has been only about 3 crores,—an amount that Mr. Wacha wants every year for ten years. The normal development of the mill industry is thus plainly unequal to the requirements of the situation. Moreover, it is well to remember what Mr. Bezanji says—that the present mill-owners must not be expected to be very keen about the production of finer cloth, because its manufacture is much less paying than that of the coarser cloth. This is due to various

causes, the principal one among them being that English capital, similarly invested, is satisfied with a smaller range of profits. Capital from other quarters must, therefore, be induced to come forward and undertake this business. If we again turn to the Statistical Abstract, we shall find that our people hold about 50 crores of rupees in Government Securities and about 11 crores in Postal Savings Banks. In the Presidency and other Banks, the private deposits stand at about 33 crores of rupees, but there are no means of ascertaining how much of the amount is held by Indians. Considering the extent of the country and the numbers of the population, these resources are, of course, extremely meagre. Still they might furnish some part of the capital needed. In this connection, may I say that a special responsibility now rests in the matter on the Aristocracy of Bengal. And this is not merely because the *Swadeshi* movement is being so vigorously advocated in their Province, but also because, owing to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, they are enabled to enjoy resources which, in other parts of India, are swept into the coffers of the State. If sufficient capital is forthcoming, Mr. Bezanji's patriotism may, I am sure, be relied on to secure for the undertaking whatever assistance his great capacity and unrivalled knowledge can give. It must, however, be admitted that capital will come forward only cautiously for this branch of the business. But the hand-loom is likely to prove of greater immediate service. Mr. Vithaldas looks forward to a great revival of the hand-loom industry in the country, and I cannot do better than quote what he says on this point in his paper. "This village industry," he says, "gives means of livelihood not only to an immense number of the weaver class, but affords means of supplementing their

income to agriculturists—the backbone of India—who usually employ themselves on hand-loom, when field work is unnecessary, and also when, owing to famine, drought or excessive rains, agricultural operations are not possible. Now the apparatus with which they work is nearly two centuries behind the times. Mr. Havell, Principal of the Calcutta School of Arts, Mr. Chatterton, of the Madras School of Arts, and Mr. Churchill, of Ahmednagar, along with many others are doing yeoman service by taking keen interest in the question of supplying economical and improved apparatus to the hand-loom weavers. Mr. Havell has pointed out that in preparing the warp our hand-loom weavers are incapable of winding more than two threads at a time, though the simplest mechanical device would enable them to treat 50 or 100 threads simultaneously. The latest European hand-loom, which successfully competes with the power-loom in Cairo and in many places in Europe, can turn out a maximum of 48 yards of common cloth in day. Mr. Havell is satisfied that the greater portion of the imported cotton cloth can be made in the Indian hand-loom with great profit to the whole community. The question of the immediate revival of the hand-loom weaving industry on a commercial basis demands the most earnest attention of every well-wisher of India and evidence gives promise of a successful issue to efforts put forward in this direction.” The outlook here is thus hopeful and cheering; only we must not fail to realize that the co-operation of all who can help—including the Government—is needed to overcome the difficulties that lie in the path.

Gentlemen, this is the twenty-first session of the Indian National Congress. Year after year, since 1885, we have been assembling in these gatherings to give voice to

our aspirations and to formulate our wants. When the movement was first inaugurated, we were under the influence of that remarkable outburst of enthusiasm for British rule, which had been evoked in the country by the great Viceroyalty of the Marquis of Ripon. That best beloved of India's Viceroys was not content to offer mere lip-homage to the principle that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. He had dared to act on it in practice and he had braved persecution at the hands of his own countrymen in India for its sake. Lord Ripon's noblest service to this country was that he greatly quickened the processes, by which the consciousness of a national purpose comes to establish itself in the minds of a people. The Congress movement was the direct and immediate outcome of this realization. It was started to focus and organize the patriotic forces that were working independently of one another in different parts of the country so as to invest their work with a national character and to increase their general effectiveness. Hope at that time was warm and faith shone bright largely as a result of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty, and those who started the Congress believed that by offering their criticism and urging their demands from a national platform, where they could speak in the name of all India, they would be able to secure a continuous improvement of the administration and a steady advance in the direction of the political emancipation of the people. Twenty years have since elapsed, and during the time much has happened to chill that hope and dim that faith, but there can be no doubt that work of great value in our national life has already been accomplished. The minds of the people have been familiarized with the idea of a united India working for her salvation; a national public opinion has been created; close bonds of

sympathy now knit together the different Provinces; caste and creed separations hamper less and less the pursuit of common aims; the dignity of a consciousness of national existence has spread over the whole land. Our record of political concessions won is, no doubt, very meagre, but those that have been secured are of considerable value; some retrogression has been prevented; and if latterly we have been unable to stem the tide of reaction, the resistance we have offered though it has failed of its avowed purpose, has substantially strengthened our public life. Our deliberations have extended over a very wide range of problems; public opinion in the country is, in consequence, better informed, and the Press is steadily growing in authority and usefulness. Above all, there is a general perception now of the goal towards which we have to strive and a wide recognition of the arduous character of the struggle and the immense sacrifices it requires.

The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves, and that, in course of time, a form of Government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing Colonies of the British Empire. For better, for worse, our destinies are now linked with those of England, and the Congress freely recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire itself. That advance, moreover, can only be gradual, as at each stage of the progress it may be necessary for us to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship, before we are enabled to go to the next one: for it is a reasonable proposition that the sense of responsibility, required for the proper exercise of the free political institutions of the West, can be acquired by an

Eastern people through practical training and experiment only. To admit this is not to express any agreement with those who usually oppose all attempts at reform on the plea that the people are not ready for it "It is liberty alone," says Mr. Gladstone in words of profound wisdom, "which fits men for liberty. This proposition like every other in politics, has its bounds; but it is far safer than the counter doctrine, wait till they are fit." While, therefore, we are prepared to allow that an advance towards our goal may be only by reasonably cautious steps, what we emphatically insist on is that the resources of the country should be primarily devoted to the work of qualifying the people, by means of education and in other ways, for such advance. Even the most bigoted champion of the existing system of administration will not pretend that this is in any degree the case at present. Our net revenue is about 44 millions sterling. Of this very nearly one-half is now eaten up by the Army. The Home Charges, exclusive of their military portion, absorb nearly one-third. These two, between them, account for about 34 millions out of 44. Then over 3 millions are paid to European officials in civil employ. This leaves only about 7 millions at the disposal of the Government to be applied to other purposes. Can any one, who realises what this means, wonder that the Government spends only a miserable three-quarters of a million out of State funds on the education of the people—primary, secondary and higher, all put together? Japan came under the influence of Western ideas only forty years ago, and yet already she is in a line with the most advanced nations of the West in matters of mass education, the State finding funds for the education of every child of school-going age. We have now been a hundred years under England's rule,

and yet to-day four villages out of every five are without a school house and seven children out of eight are allowed to grow up in ignorance and in darkness! Militarism, Service interests and the interests of English capitalists, —all take precedence to-day of the true interests of the Indian people in the administration of the country. Things cannot be otherwise, for it is the Government of the people of one country by the people of another; and this, as Mill points out, is bound to produce great evils. Now the Congress wants all this should change and that India should be governed, first and foremost, in the interests of the Indians themselves. This result will be achieved only in proportion as we obtain more and more voice in the government of our country. We are prepared to bear—and bear cheerfully—our fair share of the burdens of the Empire, of which we are now a part, but we want to participate in the privileges also, and we object most strongly to being sacrificed, as at present, in order that others may prosper. Then the Congress asks for a redemption of those promises for the equal treatment of Indians and Englishmen in the Government of this country, which have been so solemnly given us by the Sovereign and the Parliament of England. It is now three-quarters of a century since the Parliament passed an Act, which, the Court of Directors pointed out, meant that there was to be no governing caste in India. The governing caste, however, is still as vigorous, as exclusive as ever. Twenty-five years later, the late Queen-Empress addressed a most memorable Proclamation to the Princes and people of India. The circumstances, connected with the issue of that Proclamation and its noble contents, will always bear witness to the true greatness of that great Sovereign and will never cease to shed lustre on the English name. The Proclamation

repeats the pledges contained in the Charter Act of 1833, and though an astounding attempt was made less than two years ago by the late Viceroy to explain away its solemn import, the plain meaning of the royal message cannot be altered without attributing what is nothing less than an unworthy subterfuge to a Sovereign, the deep reverence for whose memory is an asset of the Empire. That the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 have created in the eyes of reactionary rulers a most inconvenient situation is clear from a blunt declaration, which another Viceroy of India, the late Lord Lytton, made in a confidential document which has since seen the light of day. Speaking of our claims and expectations based on the pledges of the Sovereign and the Parliament of England, he wrote: "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them (the Natives of India) and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course. Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear." We accept Lord Lytton as an unimpeachable authority on the conduct of the Government in evading the fulfilment of the pledges. We deny his claim to lay down that our "claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled."

Our whole future, it is, needless to say, is bound up with this question of the relative positions of the two races in this country. The domination of one race over another—especially when there is no great disparity between their intellectual endowments or their general

civilization—inflicts great injury on the subject race in a thousand insidious ways. On the moral side, the present situation is steadily destroying our capacity for initiative and dwarfing us as men of action. On the material side, it has resulted in a fearful impoverishment of the people. For a hundred years and more now India has been, for members of the dominant race, a country where fortunes were to be made to be taken out and spent elsewhere. As in Ireland the evil of absentee landlordism has in the past aggravated the racial domination of the English over the Irish, so in India what may be called absentee capitalism has been added to the racial ascendancy of Englishmen. A great and ruinous drain of wealth from the country has gone on for many years, the net excess of exports over imports (including treasure) during the last forty years amounting to no less than a thousand millions sterling. The steady rise in the death-rate of the country—from 24 per thousand, the average for 1882—84, to 30 per thousand: the average for 1892—94, and 34 per thousand, the present average,—is a terrible and conclusive proof of this continuous impoverishment of the mass of our people. India's best interests—material and moral—no less than the honour of England, demand that the policy of equality for the two races, promised by the Sovereign and by Parliament, should be faithfully and courageously carried out.

Gentlemen, as I have already observed, the manner in which the Partition of Bengal has been carried out furnishes a striking illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule. Happily, the features are not always so conspicuously in evidence. No one also denies that a large proportion of the members of the bureaucracy bring to their work a high level of ability, a keen sense of duty and a conscientious desire

within the limits of the restricted opportunities permitted by the predominance of other interests, to do what good they can to the people. It is the system that is really at fault—a system which relegates the interests of the people to a very subordinate place and which, by putting too much power into the hands of these men, impairs their sense of responsibility, and develops in them a spirit of intolerance of criticism. I know many of these men are on their side constantly smarting under a sense of unfair condemnation by our countrymen. They fail to realize that if the criticism that is passed on their actions is sometimes ill-informed and even unjust, this is largely due to the veil of secrecy which carefully hides official proceedings from the view of the people in India. Moreover, theirs are at present all the privileges of the position and they must bear without impatience or bitterness its few disadvantages. I have already said that our advance towards our goal can only be gradual. Meanwhile there is a great deal of work to be done for the country in which officials and non-officials could join hands. A considerable part of the way we could both go together, but it can only be on terms consistent with the self-respect of either side. In old times, when British rule was new and its higher standards and its more vigorous purposes excited general admiration, the Englishman's claim to a privileged position, even outside the sphere of official duties, was allowed to pass unchallenged. That is now no longer possible, and those officials, who expect the Indians to approach them with bated breath and whispering humbleness—and the type is not confined to the new Eastern Province exclusively—not only make useful relations between the two sides impossible but do more harm to their own class than they imagine. In one

respect the gulf between the official and educated classes of the country is bound to widen more and more every day. The latter now clearly see that the bureaucracy is growing frankly selfish and openly hostile to their national aspirations. It was not so in the past. In a most remarkable letter which I had the honour to receive, while in England, two months ago from Mr. Hodgson Pratt—a great and venerated name among all lovers of peace—he tells us with what object Western education was introduced into this country. “Fifty years ago,” writes Mr. Pratt, who in those days was a member of the Bengal Civil Service, “while India was still under the Government of the East India Company, it was considered both just and wise to introduce measures for national education on a liberal scale with adequate provision of schools, colleges, and universities. This event was hailed with lively satisfaction by the native population as heralding a new era of social progress, and as satisfying the active intelligence of the Hindus. Now it must be observed that the character of the teaching thus inaugurated by Englishmen would necessarily reflect the ideals, which have for centuries prevailed among them. In other words, Indian youths would be brought up to admire our doctrines of political liberty, popular rights, and national independence; nor could it ever have been supposed that these lessons would fall upon deaf ears and cold hearts. On the contrary, the inevitable result of such teaching was clearly perceived by the Government of those days, and was regarded in a generous spirit. In support of this assertion I may mention that at the time of the inauguration of these measures I accompanied the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir Frederick Halliday) on one of his winter tours through the province. Naturally he called

the attention of those, who attended the public meetings held by him; to the new education policy, and he always took occasion to declare that the schools would promote one of the leading purposes of British rule, *which was to prepare the people for self-government*. It certainly was not supposed that at any subsequent time a policy would be adopted, which would disappoint the legitimate hopes thus created." Now, however, that the time has come for the bureaucracy to part with some of its power in favour of the educated classes, all kinds of excuses are brought forward to postpone what is no doubt regarded as the evil day. One favourite argument is that the educated classes are as yet only a very small faction of the community. The hollowness of this plea was well exposed by the late Mr. George Yule in his address as President of our National Congress in 1888. Quoting Prof. Thorold Rogers, he pointed out that a hundred years ago, not one man in ten or one woman in twenty knew how to read and write in England. Going another century or two back he added, the people of England, man and boy, high and low, with the exception of a mere handful, were steeped in the grossest ignorance, and yet there was a House of Commons. We have now in this country about 15 million people who can read and write, and about a million of these have come under the influence of some kind of English education. Moreover, what we ask for at present is a voice in the Government of the country, not for the whole population, but for such portion of it as has been qualified by education to discharge properly the responsibilities of such association. Another argument, brought forward in favour of maintaining the present bureaucratic monopoly of power, is that though the educated classes make a grievance of it, the

mass of the people are quite indifferent in the matter. Now, in the first place, this is not true. However it may suit the interests of the officials to deny the fact, the educated classes are, in the present circumstances of India, the natural leaders of the people. Theirs is the Vernacular Press, the contents of which do not fail to reach the mass of our population; in a hundred ways they have access to the minds of the latter; and what the educated Indians think to-day, the rest of India thinks to-morrow. Moreover, do the officials realise how their contention condemns their rule out of their own mouth? For it means that only so long as the people of India are kept in ignorance and their faculties are forced to lie dormant, that they do not raise any objection to the present system of administration. The moment education quickens those faculties and clears their vision, they range themselves against a continuance of the system!

Gentlemen, a number of important questions will come up before you for discussion during the next two days, and, following the practice of previous Congresses, you will, no doubt, record after due deliberation, your views on them in the form of resolutions. This is, of course, necessary; but may I suggest that for purposes of agitation in the immediate future, we should now concentrate our main energies on certain selected portions of our programme? Speaking broadly, most of the reforms that we have been advocating may be grouped under four heads:—(1) those which aim at securing for our people a larger and larger share in the administration and control of our affairs; these include a reform of our Legislative Councils, the appointment of Indians to the Secretary of State's Council and the Executive Councils in India, and a steady substitution of the Indian for the European agency in the public service of

the country ; (2) those which seek to improve the methods of administration, such as the separation of Judicial from Executive functions, Police Reform, and similar proposals ; (3) those which propose a readjustment of financial arrangements with the object of securing a reduction of the burdens of the taxpayers and a more efficient application of our resources ; under this head come a reduction of military charges, the moderating of land assessment and so forth ; and (4) those which urge the adoption of measures, calculated to improve the condition of the mass of the people ; these include a vigorous extension of primary education, facilities for industrial and technical instruction, grants for improved sanitation, and a real attempt to deal with the alarming indebtedness of the peasantry. Now what I would most earnestly and respectfully suggest is that we should select from each group such reforms as may be immediately urged with the greatest effect and press them forward in this country and in England with all the energy we can command. In my humble opinion, our immediate demands should be :—(1) A reform of our Legislative Councils, raising the proportion of elected members to one-half, requiring the budgets to be formally passed by the Councils, and empowering the members to bring forward amendments, with safeguards for bringing the debates to a close in a reasonable time. The Presidents of the Councils should have the power of veto. The Viceroy's Legislative Council consists at present of 25 members, of whom only five are elected, one by the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta—a body of Europeans—and the other four by four provinces. We must ask for the proportion of elected members to be now raised to 12. Of this number, two seats might be given, one to commerce and one

to certain industries, and the remaining ten should be assigned to different provinces, two to each of the three older provinces, and one each to the remaining. And to begin with, the right of members to move amendments, may be confined to one amendment each. The two members for commerce and industries will generally be Europeans, and they will ordinarily vote with Government. Thus even if all the ten provincial members voted together, they would be only 10 out of 25. Ordinarily they will not be able to carry a motion against the Government, but on exceptional occasions they may obtain the support of two or three men from the other side, and then the moral effect of the situation will be considerable. In the Provincial Legislative Councils, we must have an increase in the number of members, each district of a province being empowered to send a member. The objection that these bodies will, in that case, be somewhat unwieldy is not entitled to much weight.

(2) The appointment of at least three Indians to the Secretary of State's Council, to be returned, one each, by the three older provinces.

(3) The creation of Advisory Boards in all Districts throughout India, whom the heads of districts should be bound to consult in important matters of administration concerning the public before taking action. For the present, their functions should be only advisory, the Collectors or District Magistrates being at liberty to set aside their advice in their discretion. Half the members of a Board should be elected representatives of the different Talukas or subdivisions of the district and the other half should consist of the principal District Officers and such non-official gentlemen as the head of the district may appoint. These Boards

must not be confounded with what are known as District Local Boards. There is, at present, too much of what may be called Secretariat rule, with an excessive multiplication of central departments. District administration must be largely freed from this, and reasonable opportunities afforded to the people concerned to influence its course, before final decisions are arrived at. If such Boards are created, we may in course of time, expect them to be entrusted with some real measure of control over the district administration. The late Mr. Ranade used to argue the importance of such Boards very strongly. If ever we are to have real Local Government in matters of general administration, the creation of these Boards will pave the way for it. One great evil of the present system of administration is its secrecy. This will be materially reduced, so far as district administration is concerned, by the step proposed.

(4) The recruitment of the Judicial Branch of the Indian Civil Service from the legal profession in India.

(5) The separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

(6) A reduction of military expenditure.

(7) A large extension of primary education.

(8) Facilities for industrial and technical education.

(9) An experimental measure to deal with the indebtedness of the peasantry over a selected area.

I think, gentlemen, if we now concentrate all our energies on some such programme, we may, within a reasonable time, see results, which will not be altogether disappointing. One thing is clear. The present is a specially favourable juncture for such an effort. In our own country, there is sure to be a great

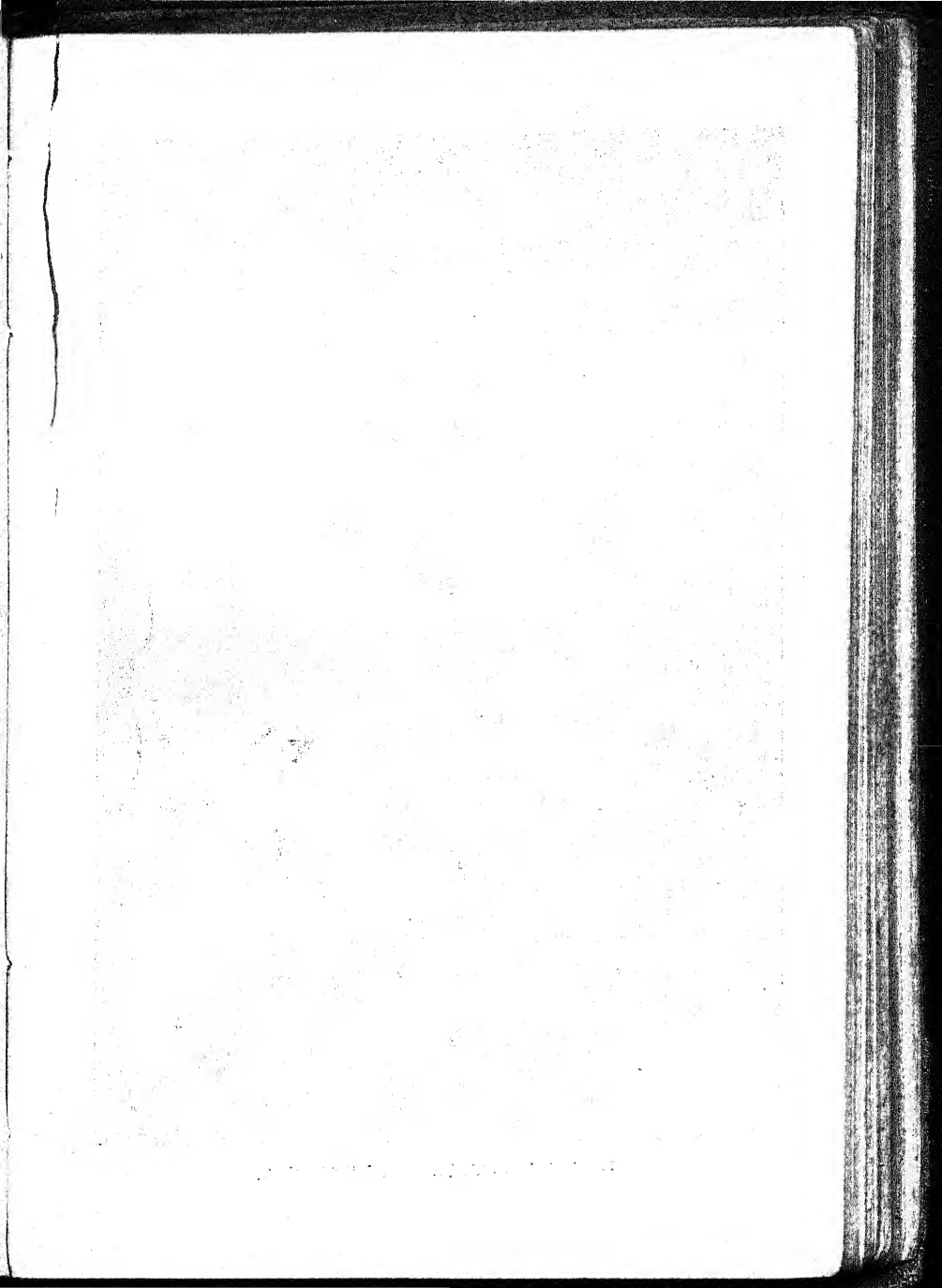
rebound of public opinion after the repression to which it has been subjected during the last three years. And in England, for the first time since the Congress movement began, the Liberal and Radical party will come into real power. My recent visit to England, during which I enjoyed somewhat exceptional opportunities to judge of the situation, has satisfied me that a strong current has already set in there against the narrow and aggressive Imperialism which only the other day seemed to be carrying everything before it. The new Prime Minister is a tried and trusted friend of freedom. And as regards the new Secretary of State for India what shall I say? Large numbers of educated men in this country feel towards Mr. Morley as towards a Master, and the heart hopes and yet it trembles, as it had never hoped or trembled before. He, the reverent student of Burke, the disciple of Mill, the friend and biographer of Gladstone,—will he courageously apply their principles and his own to the government of this country, or will he, too, succumb to the influences of the India Office around him and thus cast a cruel blight on hopes which his own writings have done so much to foster? We shall see; but in any case his appointment, as Secretary of State for India, indicates how strongly favourable to our cause the attitude of the new Ministry is. Mr. Ellis, the new Under-Secretary of State for India, is openly known to be a friend of our aspirations. A more gratifying combination of circumstances could not be conceived, and it now rests with us to turn it to the best advantage we can for our Motherland.

Gentlemen, one word more and I have done. I have no wish to underrate the difficulties that lie in our path, but I am convinced more than ever that they are not insuperable. Moreover, the real moral interest of a struggle, such as we are engaged in, lies not so much in

the particular readjustments of present institutions, which we may succeed in securing, as in the strength that the conflict brings us to be a permanent part of ourselves. The whole life of a people, which is broader and deeper than what is touched by purely political institutions, is enriched even by failures, provided the effort has been all that it should be. For such enrichment, the present struggle is invaluable. "The true end of our work," said Mr. Ranade nine years ago, "is to renovate, to purify, and also to perfect the whole man by liberating his intellect, elevating his standard of duty, and developing to the full all his powers. Till so renovated, purified and perfected, we can never hope to be what our ancestors once were—a chosen people, to whom great tasks were allotted and by whom great deeds were performed. Where this feeling animates the worker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particular direction it asserts itself and in what particular method it proceeds to work. With a liberated manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly by all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and, lastly, with a love that overleaps all bounds, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world, and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached—this is the promised land. Happy are they, who see it in distant vision ; happier those who are permitted to work and clear the way on to it ; happiest they, who live to see it with their eyes and tread upon the holy soil once more. Famine and pestilence, oppression and sorrow, will then be myths of the past, and the gods will once again descend to the earth and associate with men, as they did in times which we

now call mythical." Gentlemen, I can add nothing that may be worthy of being placed by the side of these beautiful words. I will only call to your minds the words of another great teacher of humanity who asks us to keep our faith in spite of trying circumstances and warns us against the presumption of despairing, because we do not see the whole future clearly before our eyes :—

" Our times are in His hand
Who saith ' A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half ; trust God ; see all, nor be afraid. "





H. H. THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA.

THE. GAEKWAR OF BARODA

The present Gaekwar of Baroda is, by common consent, acknowledged to be, perhaps, the ablest and most enlightened of native rulers in India. Under his rule, Baroda has made such progress that it has come to be regarded as a model State. The life of such a ruler cannot fail to be of interest.

The present Gaekwar of Baroda was born in the month of March 1863, in a village in Khandesh, when Baroda was being governed by Maharajah Khande Rao.

Maharajah Khande Rao was succeeded by his brother Malhar Rao Gaekwar, who notoriously misgoverned the State, till the British Government thought it its duty to intervene. A Commission was appointed in 1875 to inquire into the charges brought against him; and, as a result of the investigation, the reins of government were taken out of his hands and the widow of his predecessor was instructed by the British Government to adopt a son to her husband. Thereupon she adopted the present Gaekwar, then a lad of thirteen.

The highest attention was paid to the education of the young Gaekwar. He was placed under very able tutors. When his general education was over, he went through a special course of lectures, at the hands of the late Sir T. Madhava Rao, who was Dewan during his minority, on subjects connected with administration. On the 28th December, 1881, he was invested with full powers, by Sir James Fergusson, then Governor of Bombay.

In 1880, His Highness married a princess of the House of Tanjore. She gave birth to a son, the present Yuvraj and heir to the Gadi and died shortly after. The Maharani seems to have been a loving wife and devoted mother and the affection which His Highness entertained for her, has been fittingly commemorated. His Highness subsequently married the present Maharani and the result of the union has been three sons and a daughter.

The history of Baroda under the administration of His Highness has been a record of steady and continual progress. The Gaekwar believes that it is the paramount duty of the State, to provide the highest education for the largest number of people, of which it is capable and it is to the realisation of this ambition that his efforts have been mainly directed. He has made education *free and compulsory* for both boys and girls, between certain limits of age. The interests of higher and technical education have not been neglected, and the facilities afforded in this direction will compare very favourably with the conditions found to be prevailing under the British Government.

His Highness has also carried into effect many other reforms which are not within the range of practical politics in British India. As an instance may be given the separation of revenue and judicial functions carried out in his dominions. His Highness has also fixed a limit of age below which boys and girls cannot be contracted in marriage.

The interest of His Highness is not confined to his own State. There is not one important problem affecting the weal of India as a whole, in which he does not take an absorbing interest and in which his sympathies are not on the side of progress and advancement. He opened the Industrial Exhibition held in 1902, in connection

with the National Congress. He presided over the Indian Social Conference in 1904, and lastly he delivered an address at the Industrial Conference held at Calcutta in December, 1906, and the addresses which he delivered on these several occasions are wise and statesmanlike to a degree. The address which he delivered at Calcutta last year was a very remarkable one and he exhorted his hearers to buy Swadeshi things *even at a sacrifice* and further said that the Swadeshi movement was '*our last chance*' as a nation.

His Highness is an extensive traveller and has visited the West with the Maharanee, once in 1877 again in 1900, and a third time in 1905. It is needless to say that fortunate Baroda has reaped and will reap the benefit of these travels.

In spite of his predominantly Western education, His Highness is a Hindu to the core and is a man of extremely simple habits and tastes, a man of incredibly simple habits and tastes for a Maharajah, in fact, a type of simple living and high thinking. This brief sketch cannot be better concluded than in his own words:—

"It may be the mission of India, clinging fast to the philosophic simplicity of her ethical code to solve the problems which have baffled the best minds of the West, to build up a sound economic policy along modern scientific lines and at the same time preserve the simplicity, the dignity, the ethical and spiritual fervour of her people.

I can conceive of no loftier mission for India than this, to teach philosophy to the West and learn its science, 'impart purity of life to Europe and attain to her loftier political ideal,' inculcate spirituality to the American mind and imbibe the business ways of its merchant."

H. H. THE GAEKWAR'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Speech delivered by H. H. the Gaekwar at the Industrial Conference held at Benares in 1905.

MR. PRESIDENT, DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— It was only last month, on my return from a tour in Europe and America that your able and energetic Secretary, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar called on me, and conveyed to me the Industrial Committee's unanimous request that I should attend this Conference and deliver an Inaugural Address. I naturally felt some hesitation in acceding to his request, partly because of the pressure of administrative work owing to my recent return from a foreign tour, and partly because I am aware that there are others who are better qualified than myself to advise you in the noble work which you have undertaken.

But, gentlemen, your Secretary was not to be put off by these reasons. He pressed me to accede to the request of the Industrial Committee, and was good enough to assure me that by so doing I would be rendering some service to the great cause which we all have at heart. To this argument I felt it my duty to yield. I feel very strongly that to help in the industrial movement of the present day is a duty which devolves on all of us equally.

Whatever be our vocations in life, we cannot be untrue to this duty without being untrue to ourselves and our country. And I feel to-day, as I have always felt and declared, that our interests are one and the

same: whatever helps and elevates you, helps and elevates us; whatever retards your progress retards ours. And, furthermore, I am strongly convinced that our activities in all different departments of life, political, social and industrial, are so correlated that we shall never make any marked progress in one without making similar progress in all.

The three seemingly diverse currents of intellectual activity converge towards the same head-works and feed the same main stream of life. Unless we extend our horizon and take a less parochial view, we can ill-understand the value and place of each of these component parts in the great machinery of progress.

Gentlemen, I do not propose to take much of your time with an account of the industries of India in the ancient times, but a brief reference to some notable facts will perhaps not be unsuitable on an occasion like this. You are all aware that India was famed for her cotton fabrics from very ancient times; and antiquarians tell us that Indian cotton found its way to Assyria and Babylon in the remote past. Indigo, which is peculiarly an Indian produce, has been detected by the microscope in Egyptian mummy cloths, and Indian ivory and other articles were probably imported into ancient Egypt. There can be little doubt that the old Phœnicians carried on a brisk trade with India, and much of the spices and precious stones, ebony, gold and embroidered work, with which they supplied the Western world, came from India.

The Greeks rose in civilization at a later date; and Herodotus, generally called the Father of History, speaks of Indian cotton as "wool growing on trees, more beautiful and valuable than that produced from sheep."

A brisk trade between India and the Western world was carried on during the centuries preceding the Christian era, and as Rome rose in power and importance, and Alexandria became a flourishing mart, the trade increased in volume. Silk threads, sapphires, indigo and cotton fabrics were exported from the mouths of the Indus; and the important sea-port town of Broach, then called Bharukatcha by the Hindus, and Barygaza by the Romans, imported gold, silver and other metals, glass, corals and perfumes; and exported precious stones, muslins, cotton fabrics, ivory, ebony, pepper and silk.

The Roman Empire declined after the third century. An Eastern Empire was founded with its new capital at Constantinople, and that place attracted to itself much of the Asiatic trade which used to flow before through Alexandria.

India was the scene of frequent invasions during the centuries succeeding the Christian era, and Scythians and Huns desolated her Western provinces. But a great chief and warrior, known to our literature under the name of Vikramaditya, at last turned back the tide of invasion, and India was virtually free from foreign raids from the sixth to the tenth century. It was within this period that Chinese travellers, Fa Hian, Houen Tsang, and others visited India as religious pilgrims, admired the arts, industries, and manufactures, and wrote on the Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries, which existed side by side in every large town. Hindu traders founded settlements in Java and the other islands; and it was in a Hindu ship, sailing from Tamralipti or Tamlook, that Fa Hian left India. Those of you who have been to Europe and visited the continental towns may have seen images of Hindu gods and goddesses in the Museum of Leyden, taken there by the Dutch from Java, where Hindu

religion and learning were introduced by traders and settlers from India.

Venice was the channel of trade with India after the close of the dark ages ; but the glory of Venice departed with the discovery of a new route to India round the Cape by Vascode Gama about the close of the fifteenth century, and Portugal rose in power and commercial enterprise as Venice declined. In the sixteenth century, all the Southern sea-board of Asia as far as China was practically under the commercial control of Portugal. But the Dutch replaced the Portuguese in the seventh century, and, like the latter, enriched themselves by the Indian trade. Likewise the English appeared on the scene a little later and wrested from the Dutch a large share of the Eastern trade in the eighteenth century. It is remarkable that, within the last thousand years, nation after nation in Europe has risen to power and to great wealth mainly through the Eastern trade. Constantinople, Venice, Portugal, Holland and England have successively been the carriers to Europe of the rich manufactures of India, as the Phœnicians and the Arabs were in the ancient times.

When England obtained territorial possessions in India in the eighteenth century, her commercial policy towards India was the same as her policy towards Ireland and her American Colonies. Her aim and endeavour was to obtain raw produce from her dependencies and to develop manufacturing industry in England. She repressed manufactures elsewhere by unequal tariffs in order to develop her own manufactures. The American Colonies freed themselves from this industrial servitude when they declared their independence ; but both Ireland and India suffered. Industries in both these countries steadily declined early in the nineteenth

century ; manufacturing industries progressed by leaps and bounds in England, and the invention of the power-loom completed her industrial triumph.

Since then England has slowly adopted a fair and equitable commercial policy and repealed Navigation Acts and unequal tariffs. And to-day England stands forth a pre-eminent free trader to all the world ; and this brings me, gentlemen, to the industrial history of India of our own times.

The triumph of machinery has been the triumph of our age : the victory of steam and electricity will always be memorable among the decisive battles of the world. The rise of power-looms for instance, has been stealing a march over the hand-loom workers, and the numbers employed in cotton weaving in India have declined by 23 per cent., even within the last decade. Even the ginning and the pressing of cotton has so extensively participated in the use of improved machinery that its hand workers have dwindled by fully 86 per cent. And yet it is this textile industry itself which shows how, with intelligent adaptation to the improved methods of art, our Indian industries can compete with the manufactures of Europe. The Bombay mills give daily employment to about 1,70,000 factory operatives, while so many as 30,000 more are maintained by the ginning presses. Some forty years ago we had only 13 cotton mills in all India. The number rose to 47 in 1876, to 95 in 1886, to 155 in 1895, and to 203 in 1904 ; and to-day the number of our cotton mills is still larger. We had less than 4,000 power-looms forty years ago : the number was over 47,000 in 1904. We had less than 3,00,000 spindles 40 years ago ; the number exceeded five millions in 1904. These are insignificant figures compared with the huge cotton industry of Lancashire ; but they show that we have made steady

progress, and that we may fairly hope to make greater progress in the future if we are true to our aims and our own interests. Our annual produce of yarn is nearly six hundred million lbs. in weight; and it is interesting to note that out of this total outturn about 30 per cent. is used mostly by our hand-loom weavers.

Gentlemen, it is with a legitimate pride that the Indian patriot marks this silent progress in the mill and hand-loom industries of India, which, next to agriculture, are the largest industries in this land. New mills have been started in Ahmedabad and Bombay within the last two years, largely as a result of the present *Swadeshi* movement. In the poor State of Baroda, too, this progress is marked. For more than twenty years the State worked a cotton mill in the capital town to give an object-lesson to the people and to encourage private companies to start similar mills. The call has now been accepted, and a private company has at last been formed, and has purchased the State mill from our hand with the happiest results. Recently a second mill has been completed, and is about to start work, and a third mill is now under construction. More than this, the number of ginning factories, and other factories using steam, has multiplied all over the State, and the number of hand-loom weavers has doubled in some towns. All the coarser counts of yarn in the Indian markets are now mostly of local spinning; an insignificant fraction alone being imported from abroad. In the case of yarn of higher counts, however, the local manufacture falls much below the supply of the foreign mills. Muslin and finer fabrics can be imported much more cheaply, and in a more pleasing variety of design and colour, than can yet be locally produced; and the hand-loom weavers of the East, once so far-famed for the

finesse of their fabrics, have now dwindled into small importance. *Prints* and *chintz* from France, England and Germany are still extensively imported to meet not only the local demand, but also the demand of markets across the Indian Frontier in Persia and Afghanistan.

Thus though there is reason for congratulation in the rise of our textile industries, there is yet greater reason for continued toil and earnest endeavour. We are still at the very threshold of success. Our cotton mills produced less than 600 million yards of cloth last year against over 2,000 million yards which we imported from other countries. Here is scope for indefinite expansion. We exported cotton of the value of 213 millions to foreign countries, and imported in return for this raw material cotton manufactures of the value of 390 millions. We are thus producing only a fourth of the mill-made cloth which the nation requires. And we should not rest till we are able to manufacture practically the total supply needed by our countrymen.

Gentlemen, the remarks I have made about the cotton industry of India apply to some extent to the other industries which require the use of steam. Bengal is known for its jute industry, which I believe is increasing year by year, and the number of jute mills has increased from 28 in 1895 to 38 in 1904. Northern India and the Punjab have some six woollen factories, whose produce has increased from $2\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds in weight in 1895 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds in 1904, and have every hope that our countrymen, who have been so successful in cotton industry, will broaden the sphere of their operations, and take to jute and woollen industries also.

The silk industry is one of the most ancient industries of India, but declined like other ancient industries

under the repressive commercial policy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Some faint signs of improvement are, however, visible now. Tassar silk is manufactured in many parts of India, and quantities of it are exported to Europe. In Assam, silk still continues to be the national dress of women, and each family weaves silk *saris* for its own use. In Bengal some improvements have been recently effected by the adoption of scientific methods of testing the seed. In the Punjab the attempt to re-introduce the cultivation of silk worms has not been attended with marked success. In Kashmir the industry is indigenous, and the State is endeavouring to develop it. Much attention is paid to this industry in the advanced and enlightened State of Mysore. And in the State of Baroda I have been endeavouring to spread and develop the industry. The number of these filatures in India in 1904 was only 75, and the number of silk mills was only 11; but much silk is also produced as a cottage industry.

Gentlemen, so far I have confined myself to the textile industries; and I have scarcely time to refer at any length to the other industries of India. Brass and copper have been used for vessels in India from ancient times, but have been threatened lately by the cheap enamelled ironware of Europe. Aluminium is a new industry, and we are indebted to Mr. Chatterton of Madras for greatly developing it in India.

Recent geological surveys and investigations have brought to light the rich ore of iron which was lying concealed so long in Central India; and there is a great scope for the development of the iron industry. Veins of iron ore are believed to exist in several places besides those where they have been yet explored; and

if only a few more enterprising companies like my friend Mr. Tata's spring up and prospect these mines, they have a hopeful future before them. If the quality of the indigenous coal is only improved and the means of communication made more easy and cheap, so as to considerably reduce the cost of transport, it would appear more profitable to melt our iron in our own furnaces, rather than import large quantities from abroad. I am glad to find that the able geologist who discovered suitable iron ore for Mr. Tata's scheme, Mr. F. N. Bose, has been selected by your Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference. The scheme is still under the consideration of Mr. Tata's son, whom I had the pleasure of recently meeting in England. There were 89 iron foundries in India in 1904, and it is to be hoped that the number will rapidly increase in the near future.

Bengal is rich in coal-fields, and out of the 8 millions of tons of coal, worth about 2 crores of rupees, raised in all India in 1904, no less than 7 millions of tons were raised in Bengal. These will seem to you to be large figures; but what are 8 million of tons compared with considerably over 200 million tons annually raised in England? Our countrymen are engaged to some extent in coal-mining, though greatly hampered in the endeavour both by want of capital and want of technical knowledge, and I am glad the Indian Government have granted scholarships to some young Indians to learn practical coal-mining in England. The importance of coal consists in this—that its abundance makes every other industry on a large scale possible. Coal and iron have been the making of modern England, more than any other causes.

These are the principal industries of India carried on mainly by steam, and for facility of reference I have put down the figures relating to them and a few other industries in a tabular form below:—

	1895.	1904.
Cotton Mills	... 148	203
Jute Mills	... 28	38
Woollen Mills	... 5	6
Cotton ginning, clearing and Press Mills	... 610	951
Flour Mills	... 72	42
Rice Mills	.. 87	127
Sugar Factories	... 247	28
Silk Filatures	... 89	75
Silk Mills	... 28	11
Tanneries	... 60	35
Oil Mills	... 163	112
Lac Factories	... 138	128
Iron and Brass Foundries	... 64	89
Indigo Factories	... 8,225	422

These figures will show you at a glance our present situation in relation to the principal industries carried on by steam in India. In some industries, like cotton, we are only at the very threshold of success, and produce only about a fourth of what we ought to produce. In other industries, like woollen and jute, we are indebted almost entirely to European capital and enterprise; we ourselves have scarcely made a beginning as yet. In a third class of industries, like sugar and tanneries, we have actually lost ground within the last ten years. While in a fourth class of industries, like iron, we are still almost wholly dependent on Europe, the produce of our own foundries scarcely supplying any appreciable proportion of the requirements of India. I repeat, therefore, what I have already said before: there is ground for hope but not for joy or elation; there are strong reasons

for earnest and continued endeavour in the future to secure that success which we are bound to achieve if we are true to ourselves.

And there is one more fact which I would like to impress on you in concluding this brief survey of our present situation. A great deal of attention is naturally paid to the mill industries of India, and to tea, indigo, coffee and other industries in which European capital is largely employed. We know, however, that the labourers who can possibly be employed in mills and factories form only an insignificant proportion of the industrial population of India. Very much the larger portion of that industrial population is engaged in indigenous industries carried on in village homes and bazaars. India is, and will always remain, a country of cottage industries. Where hundreds of thousands can work in mills and factories, millions and tens of millions work in their own huts; and the idea of greatly improving the condition of the labourers of India merely by adding to mills and factories is only possible for those who form their opinions six thousand miles away. No, gentlemen; any comprehensive plan of improving the condition of our industrial classes must seek to help the dwellers in cottages. It is the humble weavers in towns and villages, the poor braziers and coppersmiths working in their sheds; the resourceless potters and ironsmiths and carpenters who follow their ancestral vocations in their ancestral homes, who form the main portion of the industrial population, and who demand our sympathy and help. It is they (more than the agriculturists, or the mill and factory labourers) that are most impoverished in these days and are the first victims to famines; and if your *Swadeshi* movement has brought some relief to these obscure and unnoticed millions and tens of millions in India, as I have reason to

believe it has done to a perceptible extent, if it has created a larger demand for their manufactures, widened the sphere of their labours, and brought some light to their dark and cheerless homes, then the movement, gentlemen, has my cordial sympathy. Help and encourage the large industries, but foster and help also the humbler industries in which tens of millions of village artisans are engaged and the people of India, as well as those who are engaged in the work of administration, will bless your work.

Gentlemen, in saying all this I do not by any means ignore or minimise our difficulties. We have to recover the ground which we have lost during the last two centuries. We in our ignorance and poverty, have to compete with some of the richest, best trained and most skilful nations on earth. We, with our ancient methods, have to habituate ourselves to modern inventions, and then to beat those modern nations who made those inventions. It is a duel with Western nations with weapons of their own choosing; and with those weapons with which we are still unfamiliar, we must face and conquer those who are past masters in their use. With the produce of our infant mills and our infant iron foundries we must oppose the overwhelming flood of manufactured goods which England, Germany and America are pouring into India.

The danger of extinction with which our industries are threatened is therefore imminent. Keep to your conservative methods, cling to your orthodox ways of work, and your industries must perish. Such is the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest and such is the admonition which a true Swadeshi movement ought to give you. If the rush of the steam engine and the whiz of electricity, combined with cheap and easy means of

transport, have succeeded in dumping your bazaars with the cheap and attractive products of foreign marts, rise to the occasion and learn how to withstand this inroad with intelligent anticipation and skilful adaptation. Learn to force nature into a corner; accost her and bring out her inmost secrets. Harness her powers, tackle her energies, and make of her a handmaid unto man. Work nature to the relief of man's estate. Any competition between skill, capital and organised enterprise on the one hand and ignorance, idleness and poverty on the other, can only have one result. Learn to combine and co-operate, learn the value of time and the use of money, and the chances of a fairer fight will eventually require all your efforts.

Swadeshism can be a genuine economic force under the above conditions. It can be a potent weapon of usefulness if properly understood. There is no economic fallacy in that Swadeshi creed that aims at improving the indigenous arts. The genuine Swadeshi ought to secure maximum of production at the minimum of cost. Patriotism demands that the greater cost and the slight discomfort of using indigenous goods should be cheerfully put up with at the outset. But remember that no such movement can be permanently successful unless it involves a determined effort to improve their quality and cheapen their cost, so as to compete successfully with foreign products. The most rigid economist will then have no flaw to find in your Swadeshi armour.

A single instance of the pitiable straits to which our industries have been reduced, on account of the difficulties mentioned, above, will suffice. The export trade of Indian cane-sugar has now become almost a matter of past history. The invasion of German and Austro-Hungarian beet-root sugar has driven away Indian sugar

from its own stronghold. In spite of the imposition of countervailing duties and extra tariffs, the bounty-fed sugar from Europe beats the Indian refiner hollow on his own field; and it is curious to observe how the cane-sugar of India has suffered in the struggle. The reason is not far to seek. Laws can cure only artificial anomalies; the levy of extra duties can countervail only the adventitious advantage of bounties and subsidies; but what can remedy causes of mischief that lie deeper, ingrained in the very constitution of the Indian grower and inherent in the very conditions under which the Indian refiner has to work? The demand for consumption of Indian sugar is large enough; it is even larger than the local refiners can supply; yet the cost of production is so excessively inflated that it pays more to import the cheap beet-sugar, grown fat on foreign bounties, than to bring the products of her own growing into her markets. The growers and refiners pursue a process involving extravagant waste of raw material: and ignorant of the latest inventions of science or art, they adhere to the methods inherited from their sires with hide-bound orthodoxy.

The same deficiency in improved methods and perfected machinery has also led to the ruin of the tanning industry of Madras. The curing and tanning of skins by an improved process in America has been found more suitable and more economical than the purchase of skins tanned in India. Similarly the manufacture of synthetic indigo, like other coal-tar preparations, has effected a revolution in agricultural chemistry; and the quantities of artificial indigo that the German factories have dumped into the markets of the world at very cheap rates have a very depressing influence on the indigo trade of Bengal. The exports of indigo which in 1895 amounted to about 53 millions in

value, dwindled down to the low figure of 6 millions ten years later, and the decline has been so rapid that it has been a cause of alarm to an optimist of even a thorough Micawber type. Dyes of no less value than 75 lakhs of rupees were poured into the Indian vats from Germany, Belgium, and Holland in 1905; and these products of aniline and alizarine dyes have completely ousted the Indian dyers from their own markets.

It thus becomes imperative on all of us to endeavour to minimise this helplessness and enrich the industrial resources of our country. The trade returns of India are an instructive study. They tell us that in 1905, fully 69 per cent. of our exports were represented by bulky agricultural produce, which gave no employment to local skill and capital, save that employed in tillage. With regard to the total imports in that year, on the other hand, fully 59 per cent. of the entire amount represented manufactured articles, with reference to which we did not know how to supply our own wants, and had to depend upon foreign skill, foreign capital, and foreign enterprise. A fair criticism of the industrial development of a country may safely be sought in the proportion of its exports of manufactured goods to the export of raw material from the country; and secondly, in the proportion of its imports of raw material to the imports of made-up or finished goods. The industrial prosperity of a country may be said roughly to vary directly with its exports of manufactures and imports of raw material and inversely with its exports of raw produce and imports of manufactured goods. This is a safe and reliable canon of industrial economics. One more sad and prominent feature of the foreign trade of India is the constant excess of exports over imports which is not conducive to the prosperity of the people.

Our serfdom to foreign capital and to foreign enterprise can scarcely be more complete. Our railways are financed by capital from Europe; our mines are exploited by savants from America, and even in our daily household needs our dependence upon products of foreign marts continues from day to day. We are being fed and clothed, diverted and entertained, lighted and washed, warmed and comforted, carried and housed, by the foreign artisan. Our arts and industries are standing to-day on the brink of a precipice and are threatened with imminent extinction. The problem of saving the country from this perilous plight, and emancipating her economic slavery to the nations from the West, has become the one topic of absorbing interest; and to find out a cure for the malady has become the one anxious thought of every patriot and of every statesman. You, gentlemen, have already bestowed, your earnest attention to this subject, and I need therefore only make mention of the industries which appear to me to be capable of great progress in the immediate future. The list is appended below:

1. The textile industry.
2. Carpenters and other wood work.
3. Iron, copper and brass works.
4. Work in gold and silver and jewellery.
5. Masonry and stone works.
6. Pottery and brick and tile making.
7. Dyeing.
8. Tannery and leather works.
9. Rope weaving.
10. Cane and bamboo works, mat making and basket weaving.
11. Glass works.
12. Turnery and lac works.
13. Horn and ivory carving.

14. Embroidery.
15. Sugar refinery.
16. Tobacco curing.
17. Oil and flour mills.

Out of these industries we might select, to begin with, those for which there is large demand in our home markets, and whose raw material we have been at present exporting in ship loads for working them into finished products abroad. In the place of large exports of raw vegetable products our endeavour should be to send out large cargoes of manufactured and finished goods. In 1905 we exported oil seeds of the value of 106 millions of rupees, and imported oil of the value of 22 millions. Our oil factories in the Bombay Presidency are said to have supported only 76 operatives at the last census. There is an indefinite scope for the expansion of this manufacturing industry in the country. Oil-pressers have diminished by 47 per cent. during the last decade, as it was found more profitable to export oil-seeds and import pressed oil from abroad, than to press it at home by crude and antiquated processes. Besides, as Dr. Voelcker has pointed out to us, to export the entire oil-seed is to export the soil's fertility.

Moreover, every year we export large quantities of wheat and other grain to be ground in foreign mills and import large quantities of flour for our use; while the wheat grinding mills in the Bombay Presidency afford no employment to more than 78 operatives, as the figure for the last census informs us. These are instances of the low state of our industries and of the difficulties under which they suffer. It should be your aim and endeavour to face and conquer these difficulties, and a wise and sympathetic legislation should help your effort and lead you to success.

Four years ago I made some remarks at Ahmedabad which, with your permission, I will repeat to-day.

"Famine, increasing poverty, widespread disease—all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system, and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another aspect of the matter, and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as a people. *It is our last chance.*

"Fail there, and what can the future bring us? . We can only grow poorer and weaker,—more dependent on foreign help. We must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existence as hewers of wood and drawers of water to any foreign power which happens to be our master."

"Solve that problem, and you have a great future before you, the future of a great people, worthy of your ancestors and of your old position among nations."

These are words which I spoke at Ahmedabad and I repeat them to-day, because we feel the importance of them perhaps, more than we felt four years ago. We are at a crisis in our national history. The time has come, when we must make arduous and united endeavours for securing our industrial independence, or we shall sink again, perhaps for centuries to come. We must struggle and maintain our ancient position among the industrial nations of the earth, or we shall be betraying a sacred trust and be false to our posterity.

I am sure you will not accuse me of exaggerating the gravity of the present situation. I am sure you all feel, as I feel, that if we do not, at the present critical time, free ourselves from that industrial serfdom into which we have allowed ourselves to sink, we have no hope for the future. This, as I said before, is *our last chance.*

And now, gentlemen, you will permit me to say a few words with regard to the work you have undertaken and the methods by which it can best be done. At a critical juncture in our country's industrial history, the Indian National Congress conceived the *happy* idea of having an Industrial Exhibition in connection with their annual gatherings. From the very first, the Indian and the Provincial Governments rendered every assistance in their power to make these Industrial Exhibitions a success; and, I may add that all classes of the Indian population, Hindus and Mahomedans, Englishmen and Parsis, merchants and manufacturers, graduates, rich landlords and humble citizens, have worked harmoniously towards this common object. These annual exhibitions fulfil a double purpose. First they inspire manufacturers with healthy emulation, and enable them to make the products of the different provinces known to all India; and in the second place they enable traders and dealers in articles of daily use to obtain accurate information, and collect articles from all parts of India for the use of purchasers in every province and town. These exhibitions have been a success; but let us not deceive ourselves. Compared with the wealth, the variety, the magnitude of Western products, as I have seen them abroad, the results we have achieved here are meagre indeed. An exhibition like this simply serves to emphasise our backwardness in utilizing the resources at hand. Let us never be satisfied until we attain a standard of perfection that will bear comparison with the Western world. With the sympathetic co-operation of the Government, and the quick intelligence of our people, there is no reason why such a result may not be achieved within a generation or two.

Last year, gentlemen, you took a new departure. Not content with these annual exhibitions, you held an Industrial Conference, and the First Conference was held under the guidance and presidentship of my Revenue Minister, Mr. R. C. Dutt. The Conference arranged that its work should proceed all through the twelve months instead of being transacted once in the year. It appointed Provincial Industrial Committees at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, and Nagpur. And it also appointed a permanent Secretary and Under-Secretary with head-quarters at Nagpur to compile information, to carry on correspondence, and to help the Provincial Committees in their work all through the year. I am glad to find that this central establishment has not gone to sleep over its work; within this closing year the Secretary and Under-Secretary have collected subscriptions which have more than covered the year's expenditure; they have published in a handy form a report of the Conference, embodying all the valuable and instructive papers which were read at the time; and they have compiled a Directory,—not complete or exhaustive by any means but a fair beginning,—describing different industries in the different parts of India. They have also published a very interesting report of the work done during this year in all parts of India.

Gentlemen, all this is a good outturn of a first year's work, but you should not be satisfied with this. A greater progress is expected from you in future years. The weak point in the Conference organisation seems to me that the Central Office is not in sufficient touch with the Provincial Committees, and is not able to render sufficient help to those Committees to develop the industries of the different provinces. Besides Provincial

Committees, you require District and even Town Associations for closer touch with the masses. India is a country of vast distances; and it takes more than a day and a night to travel from Nagpur to some of the provinces. While the Central Office at Nagpur can do much to help the outlying provinces, the provinces can do more to help themselves. By such harmonious co-operation towards a common object, I hope to see the work of the Industrial Conference show a continued progress from year to year. A central organization is needed to co-ordinate all the endeavours that are being made in all parts of India to promote home industries; and the Industrial Conference, with its central establishment and Provincial Committees, was not established a day too soon.

And now, gentlemen, I desire to place a few practical suggestions before you, such as, from my own knowledge and experience, occur to me. The first and the most important means of promoting our industries is to spread general education amongst the masses. Great and far-reaching changes might be made in the educational system of the country, and I am of opinion that no ultimate solution of our problem will be reached until schools have been provided in every village, and education is taken to the very threshold of the people; until, in fact, education, at least in its primary grades, has been made free and compulsory throughout the land. I am, indeed, gratified to learn that the Government of India has already under consideration the policy of making primary education free.

The experiment of free and compulsory education is a novel one in this country; and yet its novelty must not scare us from our duty. I am not, indeed, prepared

at this time to recommend the example of some of the socialistic communities of the West in providing free breakfasts, free baths, free boots and everything else but free beds. I have, however, endeavoured to introduce compulsory education throughout the State of Baroda, and hope to see my people benefited by it. The measure was being worked with satisfactory results in one part of the State for a number of years. Emboldened by the success of this experiment, I have decided to make primary education compulsory throughout the State and absolutely free.

Of scarcely less importance at this time of the day is the need for Industrial Education. I must confess that it is my recent visit to Europe and to America that has impressed me most with the immense importance of technical education in promoting the industries of nations. I may state without exaggeration that education has undergone a complete revolution in the West within the present generation. The great armaments of the Western nations, their vast armies and navies, do not receive greater attention and greater solicitude in the present day than that education in industrial pursuits which befits them for the keener struggle, which is continually going on among nations for industrial and manufacturing supremacy.

Among the nations on the Continent of Europe, Germany takes the lead in industrial enterprise; and among the many technical institutes of that country the King's Technical High School at Berlin is the most famous. A large staff of professors teach over 1,500 students, and applied chemistry in oils and colours as well as dyeing, bleaching, printing on cloths and silks, and leather tanning are taught on a scale unequalled in any other country on the Continent.

France is endeavouring to foster her industries and manufactures in numerous institutes. The *Musee des Arts et Metiers* of Paris has an extensive collection of machines and models of machines, and Science and Arts classes are held there on important technological subjects. The French Government manage the Sevres Royal Porcelain Factory and the Gobelines Tapestry Manufactory; and frequent exhibitions are held every year in the Grand and Petit Palais of Paris.

Austria is not far behind, and Vienna has technical schools on a smaller scale, each teaching some branch of a technical art; Italy has her technical academies; and a polytechnic institute, planned after the Cassanova Institute at Naples, might serve anywhere to collect the best craftsmen and the most promising apprentices under the same roof and extend the moral influence of the teacher to the pupils. All the experts of art would be collected there; and interchange ideas about their trade deficiencies and trade difficulties.

In London the City and Guild's Technical College, the Country Council's Schools of Arts and Crafts under Principal Lethaby, and the several Polytechnics are among the many institutions where a practical training in arts and industries is imparted to the people.

The new universities of Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds pay special attention to technical education as the older universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London take up liberal and classical education. The Municipal School of Technology at Manchester is a monument of the enterprise of that great manufacturing town, and teaches mechanical electrical, municipal and sanitary engineering, technical physics, industrial and general chemistry, bleaching, dyeing, printing and

finishing of textiles, paper manufacture, metallurgy and various other subjects. Some students from Baroda are engaged in the study of acids and alkali manufacture and plumbing and sanitary engineering in this school.

But of all the countries which I have recently visited it is America where I found the highest development of industrial education. Every single State in the United States has a State College, where technical education is given to students *absolutely free*. No fees are charged in these State Colleges, because the proper training of citizens in technical arts is considered a matter of national importance, and lands and annual grants are assigned by the States for the maintenance of these Colleges. Every State College teaches agriculture and engineering, and also gives some training to the students in military tactics. Other subjects are also taught according to the resources of these Colleges.

Besides these State Colleges there are some 43 privately endowed technical institutes all over the United States, where engineering is taught in all its branches, civil, electrical, mechanical and marine ; architecture, drawing, modelling and textile industry are also among the subjects taught. The great Institute of Technology at Boston, with its 2,500 students, the Armour Institute at Chicago with its 2,000 students, and the Pratt Institute at New York with its 1,500 students are the best known among these privately endowed technical institutes.

I need hardly add that the great universities like Harvard, Yale and Columbia also teach engineering in all its branches ; and, what will surprise you more, almost every high school has classes for manual training, comprising carpentry, smithy, and machine sho

I have not yet visited Japan, but we all know what Japan has done within the lifetime of one generation. Her victories in the battlefield have lately brought that wonderful Land among the foremost nations on earth; but the victories of Fanshan and Mukden are not more brilliant than the triumphs of her industries achieved by a system of technical education which leaves very little to be desired.

My second suggestion to you is that, besides establishing technical schools, you should endeavour to introduce some manual training in the ordinary schools. The training of the eye and of the hand at an early age is useful to all, even to those who have not to support themselves by manual industry in life. Early lessons in drawing and modelling, simple instructions in carpentry and smith's work, are good for all students in all ranks of life. Physicians and psychologists tell us that such exercise, by introducing a variety in the course of studies, really refresh and help the brain and make boys and girls more capable of acquiring both learning and arts. And, moreover, to attach some industrial classes to our ordinary schools would have the healthy effect of giving a complete and not one-sided education to our children. The richer classes would be brought more in touch with the humble industries; the poor classes would acquire that skill and facility in handling tools which can be only acquired at an early age: all people in all branches of life would be impressed with the dignity of manual labour more than they do now in India; and your great endeavour to promote the industries of the land would be greatly helped when the nation receives an elementary technical training in schools. At the same time it is necessary to bear constantly in mind that no amount of specialised

training in manual arts can fill the place of that liberal education and general culture which should serve as the necessary substratum for all kinds of learning. Technical training is a supplement, but not a substitute, for general education, and should never be turned into a fad.

I have tried to impress on you, gentlemen, the importance of founding technical schools and of introducing manual training in our ordinary schools throughout India. Years will, however, pass before this can be done on an adequately extensive scale, so that India can take her legitimate place among the nations of the earth in industrial education and mechanical inventions. It follows, therefore, that for years, and perhaps generations, you must send your young men to Europe, America, and Japan for that complete industrial training which they cannot yet receive at home. Make no mistake, and let no time-honoured prejudices deter you from travelling to other parts of the earth, and receiving that new light, that new culture; those new ideas, which even the most gifted and advanced nations always receive by mixing with other nations, and which India needs, perhaps, more than any other civilized nation. The healthy results of foreign travels, and of comparing notes with foreign nations, are already manifest in India in every department of life within the last fifty years. Nothing impressed me more upon my recent return to India than the changed attitude of many of my countrymen towards foreign institutions. Men of all ranks have been eager to learn my impressions of Western nations. Such a spirit of enquiry is always healthful if it proceeds from a sincere thirst for knowledge. I was much interested in learning while in America that some two or three thousand students every year go abroad to absorb the best of European methods in Education and in Commerce, while

the National Government sends men to all parts of the world to study the products of other lands. England, Germany and France, with all their commercial prestige, do not hesitate to send inquirers to foreign parts. Coming nearer home, we find that hundreds of Japanese young men complete their education in France, Germany, England and America. Such is the desire for knowledge, and the whole-heartedness of the latter, that not only do they acquire a special education in whatever subject they may be engaged, but they also provide themselves with the means of livelihood, not shrinking from the humblest occupations of life.

Japan profited most by sending out her youths to the seminaries of Europe. She owes her present greatness to that illustrious band of her scholar statesmen who imbibed the first principles in the science of politics and the art of government at the universities of Gottingen and Leipzig. She is to-day the mistress of the Eastern seas because of her student sailors, who acquired their first lessons in naval warfare in the docks of Tilbury and Portsmouth. Her battles are fought and won by her soldiers who got themselves initiated into the mysteries of manœuvring and the secrets of stratagem on the plains of the Champ-de-Mars and Rastadt. And she bids fair to assume the supreme place in the trade of the Orient on account of her scholar-financiers, who have rubbed shoulders with bankers in the counting houses of London, Berlin and New York. Has the world ever seen a nobler instance of young men architecturing the fortunes of their motherland? Can we conceive a higher example of patriotism for India's sons to emulate? Let us follow their spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion; let us hold up their ideal of national unity and social equality. learn eagerness to acquire the newest methods in all

walks of life; imitate their perseverance and patient toil; and we may yet save the fortunes of our country.

I have learnt with pleasure that an earnest and patriotic worker of this province, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghose, the worthy son of a worthy father, has organized a scheme for sending young men to Europe and America for education; and that a large number of students have already been sent in accordance with this scheme. Nothing gave me greater pleasure, while abroad, than coming in touch with several Bengalis who were studying in Europe and America. Although far away from India, they had the kindest and most patriotic feelings for their native land. India is to be congratulated in having such men. This policy has also been pursued by the State of Baroda for many years past, and young men, educated in Europe, at State expense, are now serving the State with credit, or finding profitable employment in other parts of India. Several young students have lately been sent to England and Germany, America and Japan; and a scheme is now under consideration to send a limited number of students at regular intervals, mainly to learn the methods of modern industry.

Gentlemen, India to-day is at the parting of ways, and there are great possibilities before her. The people of Bombay, for instance, are looking forward to the use of electricity generated in the Western Ghats for working their mills. The people of Madras are looking forward to the experiments made in tree-cotton. All India looks forward to the happiest results from the research institute for which we are indebted to the late-lamented Mr. Tata. There is stir in the air; and the people are showing signs of awakening. This is hopeful; but let us not forget that years of patient toil are before us, that it is only by patience and perseverance that we can ever succeed in

competing with the West in industrial pursuits. We need the spirit of determination, of courage, of confidence in ourselves and in each other; we need to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, between the spirit that vivifies and the letter that kills. Let our energies be not distracted in small things.

I now desire, with your kind indulgence, to add a word on the lessons that seem to me to arise from the experience of different nations—lessons which are pertinent to India at this juncture. Turning to ancient Egypt, once the centre of the most advanced civilization of the time, we discover that vast resources—agricultural and mineral—are not alone sufficient to produce a cultured and permanent civilization; though the foundation of all stable civilizations must fall back in the last analysis upon the natural resources of the country. Egypt in the ancient time had abundant resources, but failing to note the value of human life, failing to conserve the interests of the working masses, she sank from the pinnacle of power and culture into political servitude and academic decay. The nation that despises its humblest classes, that provides for them no opportunity to rise in the social scale and in self-esteem, is building its house upon the sand. The wealth of a nation is the quality of its manhood.

Greece fell from her eminence not from any failure of philosophical or æsthetic or political insight. In these directions she has been the chief source of inspiration for the whole Western world. Pericles, Plato and Aristotle are still household names in the West. Athens faded away like a fragrant memory because she failed to look to the economic bases of her prosperity. Had she taken pains to utilize her splendid maritime location for the development of commerce and

industry ; had she confided her commercial affairs to her freemen instead of her slaves ; had she applied the sagacity of her statesmen to the formation of a sound fiscal policy, the story of Athens might have had a different *denouement*. But she wasted her mineral resources, and expended large sums in the erection of great temples of worship and art and learning. Far be it from us to suggest any criticism against a civilization which has been the fountain head of all subsequent growth in the culture of the West. I would simply point out that without a permanent and stable economic policy no civilization, however enlightened, can long endure. This is the message of ancient Greece to modern India. Be careful of large expenditures, either individually or collectively, which are unproductive. Bid her people forget their caste and tribal prejudices in the common effort to uplift the fortunes of India ; bid them find expression for their religious enthusiasm in practical co-operation for the uplifting of humanity—of the human spirit in the temple of God. Bid them be free men, economically, socially and intellectually ; and no power under Heaven can long keep them in servitude.

Rome, too, has its lesson for India. In the complex and far-reaching series of disasters, which led to the downfall of Rome, it would be difficult, indeed, to designate any one factor as the premier cause of the catastrophe. But of this we may be sure, that the highly centralised and paternalistic Government which developed under the later Cæars, was a potent cause of weakness to the Empire. Private initiative and individual responsibility gave place to State operation of manufactures and industry. Insufficient currency and military oppression drove the husbandman from his plough and the merchant from his counter. The people looked to the

Cæsar for corn, and out of the public treasury the hungry were fed, if they were fed, at all. The emperor ruled by force of arms; manufactures were operated by a system of forced labour under the strictest surveillance of the State; the civilian was forced into idleness and vice; the masses into pauperism and dejection. The national spirit decayed, and Rome fell an easy prey to the ravaging hordes from the North.

At this crucial period in India's emancipation, we shall need to keep constantly in mind the failure of Rome. No permanently sound and stable development can occur unless we take pains to educate the masses of our people to a sense of their paramount importance and dignity in the social structure. I conceive it to be the prime duty of the enlightened and well-to do amongst us to rouse, to stimulate, and to educate the lower classes. We should help them to help themselves. But ever let us beware of paternalism. Not charity but co-operation is the crying need of the hour.

Let our people, as rapidly as possible, be educated in the principles of economics, and let special pains be taken for the development of an honest, intelligent, *entrepreneur* class who will be content to organise and manage our new industries without sapping their life by demanding exorbitant profits.

Ancient India, too, has lessons for us. I have already spoken of India's rich products and her brisk trade with the West in ancient times. But her mechanical inventions were slow because mechanical work was left to hereditary castes, somewhat low in the scale of society. Our sculpture does not compare favourably with the sculpture and architecture of ancient Greece, and our mechanical progress does not keep pace with

the mechanical inventions of modern nations, because our intellectual classes have been divorced for centuries and thousands of years from manual industry, which has been left to the humbler and less intellectual classes. In literature and thought we need fear no comparison with the most gifted nations on the earth. The genius for craftsmanship is also among the people, as is evidenced by the ingenuity and skill of our artisan classes. Make industrial pursuits the property of the nation, instead of the exclusive possession of castes: let the sons of Brahmins and of learned Moulvies learn to use tools in their boyhood; let every graduate, who feels a call towards mechanical work, turn to that pursuit in life instead of hankering after salaried posts, and I am convinced the national genius will prove and assert itself in industries and inventions as well as in literature and thought.

Turning to the Western world of modern times we discover lessons of utmost importance for India at this time. As I look back over the last several centuries which have raised the nations of the West from the darkness of mediævalism to their present high degree of civilization, it seems that four historical movements are plainly discernible as important factors in that development.

The first movement to which I refer is the capitalistic programme of the last few centuries. I do not need to dwell before such an audience as this upon the advantages of a capitalistic organization of industries, with its attendant systems of credit, banks and exchanges, with its economy of production and its facility of distribution. In the scientific application of capital we still have many things to learn from the nations of the West.

For this reason I am firmly convinced that we need to devote large sums to the founding of chairs of economics in our Colleges, and to the training of our young men in the subtle problems of finance. Let the brightest of our young patriots be sent to Western Universities to master the principles of economic polity.

The second movement in the West is the taking of social, political and commercial affairs, which are purely secular in the nature, out of the hands of the priests. In the 13th century the Church of Rome and her minions dictated not only matters of religious import, but reached out in many directions to control all the relations of life, both individual and collective. For three centuries the popular will struggled against the secular tendencies of the Church, until led to open revolt by Martin Luther. Since that revolt the principle has been firmly established, and is held with special vigour in America, that the realm of the Church is in matters of moral and metaphysical import, and that social, political and commercial relationships must be left to the individual consciences of those who participate in them. And in this connection I merely desire to point out that in so far as India's religious ideas tend to keep many of our brightest and best minds out of practical affairs, out of the scientific, political and commercial movements of the time, by so far do those religious philosophic systems stand in the way of her progress towards economic independence. Why have the people of India been tardy in grasping the scientific principles of Western industrial organisation? I shall not presume to answer the question at any length, but content myself with suggesting that we must, as a people, look well to the religious and social foundations of our national life.

Break the monopoly of caste prerogatives and social privileges. They are self-arrogated, and are no more inherent in any one caste than commercial predominance or political supremacy in any one nation. Learn the luxury of self-sacrifice; elevate your brethren of the humbler castes to your own level; and smooth all artificial angularities. Always appraise action more than talk, and ever be ready to translate your word into deed.

I desire in the next place to call your attention to the development of national spirit. Throughout Europe, for the last two thousand years, there has been constant progress in the unifying and the solidifying of national life. Petty States and warring principalities have given place to strong compact and homogeneous nations, each possessing decided national characteristics, and each working through the patriotic impulses of all its people for the preservation of the national ideal. Now I find in the reading that the most frequent criticism offered against us as a people by candid critics is that we are disunited, many-minded, and incapable of unselfish co-operation for national ends. If this criticism is true that India is a mass of small, heterogeneous peoples unfitted for independent national existence, then it behoves us as intelligent men and patriots to put in motion the principles of unity and co-operation. To this end I favour the adoption of a national speech and the inculcation of a national spirit.

And the last movement to which I would direct your attention is the development of science in Europe during the last hundred and fifty years. The story of that development reads like a romance of the olden time. Within that period have been developed railways, steam ships, electric telegraphs, the telephone, friction matches,

gas illumination, knowledge of electricity in all its multi-form applications, phonograph, Rontgen-rays, spectrum analysis, anæsthetics, the modern science of chemistry, the laws of molecular constitution of matter, conservation of energy, organic evolution, the germ theory of disease, and many others of the utmost practical importance in modern life.

I submit, my friends, that India's part in this wonderful movement has been shamefully small. Can it be true, as one writer has said, that some "strange feat of arrest, probably due to mental exhaustion, has condemned the people of India to eternal reproduction of old ideals?" I cannot believe that the intellectual power of India is exhausted, nor can I believe that her people are no longer capable of adding to the sum of human knowledge. We have an intense and justifiable pride in the contribution of our sages of bygone days to the philosophic, the literary and the artistic wealth of the world. It should be our chief pride, our supreme duty, and our highest glory, to regain the intellectual supremacy of the ancient days. The atmosphere of the West is throbbing with vigorous mental life. The pursuit of new truth is the first concern of every stalwart mind of the West, while the mass of our people are content to live stolid, conventional lives, blindly following the precepts of the fathers rather than emulating the example they set of intellectual independence and constructive energy. I cannot do better than close my remark with those fine lines of the poet Matthew Arnold :—

The East bowed low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain ;
She let the legion's thunder past,
Then bowed in thought again.

I would not for a moment have you think, my friends, that I return from the West a convert to Western ideals, or in any sense a pessimist concerning the future of India. There are many defects in Western civilization that no impartial student of affairs may ignore. The evils that have grown up in the centralizing of population in the great industrial cities constitute, in my judgment a serious menace to the future of those races. There are weighty problems of administration, of morals, of public health, which the West, with all its ingenuity, has not been able to solve. There is the internal conflict between capital and labour which is becoming more acute as time goes on. Nor can one visit the great commercial centres of the West without feeling that the air is surcharged with the miasmatic spirit of greed. Everywhere the love of display and the sordid worship of material wealth and power has poisoned the minds of the people against the claims of the simple, homely life, which the Indian in his love for the things of the spirit, has cultivated since history began.

It may be the mission of India, clinging fast to the philosophic simplicity of her ethical code, to solve the problems which have baffled the best minds of the West, to build up a sound economic policy along modern scientific lines, and at the same time preserve the simplicity, the dignity, the ethical and spiritual fervor of her people. I can conceive of no loftier mission for India than this, to teach philosophy to the West and learn its science; impart purity of life to Europe and attain to her loftier political ideal; inculcate spirituality to the American mind and imbibe the business ways of its merchant.



HON. DR. RASH BEHARY GHOSE.

THE HON. DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose is the acknowledged leader of the vakil bar in the High Court of Calcutta at the present day, and it is an admitted fact that as a jurist, a scholar, a legislator and a successful advocate, he is the foremost man of his generation among his countrymen. He has been the architect of his own fortune and he had nothing but his own brains to start in life with.

Dr. Ghose is the eldest son of Babu Juggobundhoo Ghose and was born in an obscure village, Torekona, in the District of Burdwan, on the 23rd December, 1845.

Dr. Ghose received his early education at the town of Bankura. While in his sixteenth year he appeared at the Entrance examination in December, 1860, and passed it in the second division. From Bankura, Dr. Ghose removed to Calcutta early in 1861 and prosecuted his further studies at the Presidency College. He showed himself to the best advantage in the First Examination in Arts at which he presented himself in December, 1862, and he headed the list of successful candidates; almost the same success attended him at the B.A. degree examination in January, 1865, and he was the first Indian student who passed the M.A. examination in English with first class honours, which he did in January, 1866.

He passed his Bachelor of Laws degree Examination in 1867.

Dr. Ghose was enrolled as a vakil of the High Court of Calcutta on the 5th February, 1867.

Four years after Dr. Ghose appeared at the Honours-in-Law examination of the Calcutta University and satisfied the high standard required of the candidates at this examination and was declared to have passed with success in 1871. Four years later he was selected to fill the chair of the Tagore professor of law, and the subject he was to lecture upon, had been selected to be the Law of Mortgages in India. His lectures which embodied the result of his studies and are of value to the lawyer of the present day, were highly useful and interesting, and when they came out in a collected shape, they took their place in the front rank of Indian text-books on the subject. The Indian Legislature had not yet codified the law of mortgages and the need of a text-book embodying the principles on the subject and placing the leading cases in an easily accessible form, was very great, till the passing of the Transfer of Property Act in 1882.

In codifying the Law of Mortgages in India, Dr. Whitley Stokes, the Law Member of the Supreme Council, found Dr. Ghose's book of great value to him and he has prominently noticed this fact in his edition of the *Anglo-Indian Codes*.

A lawyer of such profound knowledge both of the theory and practice of law and of such unquestioned abilities as a scholar, cannot fail to be appreciated in the long run. It is a delight to hear an important argument of Rash Behari Ghose. He is a very strenuous advocate when he is convinced in his own mind that he

is in the right, but he is always eminently fair to his adversary and always candid in his relations to the bench. He likes to argue questions of law more than questions of fact.

He was appointed for the first time as an examiner at the B. L. examination of the Calcutta University in 1877, and he was nominated a Fellow of the University in 1879 at the instance of Sir William Markby, then Vice-Chancellor of the University. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1884 and was elected a member of the Calcutta University Syndicate in 1887, in which capacity he remained till 1889. In 1889 he was appointed a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and on the resignation of his seat in the Supreme Council by the late Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, Dr. Ghose was selected to fill the vacancy in 1891 and was re-appointed for another term in 1893. He was elected President of the Faculty of law of the University of Calcutta in 1893, and continued to be so till 1895. He was created a Companion of the Indian Empire in 1896 in recognition of his valuable labours in the Supreme Council, where he not only took an intelligent interest in all questions then before the Council and taking part in the debates concerning them, but also he introduced two bills of his own of a highly important nature. One of these bills provided for adding a section to the Code of Civil Procedure enabling any person whose immoveable property had been sold in execution of a decree to get back his property if within thirty days of the day of sale he put into Court the amount of the purchase-money with five per cent. in addition. Another bill provided for the partition of joint family property and aimed at preventing strangers coming into portions of a joint dwelling house, if any co-sharer was willing to pay the same price which a stranger had

paid for the portion of the dwelling house of which he sought possession. Both these bills were accepted by the Government and have been passed into law.

Dr. Ghose has been prominently before the public for the last five years in connection with his political activities and public duties. As Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Twenty-second Indian National Congress, held in the City of Palaces in December, 1906, Dr. Ghose delivered a speech which would fitly rank with the best productions of the English language. Three months later Dr. Ghose, from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council, delivered an equally able speech in the course of the Budget debate. Dr. Ghose gave eloquent expression to a grievance which is widely felt all over India in the matter of Civilian District Judges being mostly below the mark in the discharge of their duties as Civil Judges, especially during the first few years of their incumbency in the office of District Judge. Dr. Ghose rendered invaluable service in connection with the Civil Procedure Code Bill of 1908 which has since become law. We must also notice the remarkable speech which Dr. Ghose delivered in the Supreme Council on the 1st of November 1907, in supporting his vote against the Seditious Meetings Act. With a wealth of legal learning, which all his official colleagues had to profess respect and admiration for, he showed how the act then being considered was an exceptional piece of legislation which was not modelled on the jurisprudence of any European country except perhaps Russia, although the seditious agitator was not an unknown figure in those countries and modern Europe was honey-combed with secret societies of anarchists and socialists.

Dr. Ghose has completed his sixty-fifth year, but is still in the full possession of his physical and intellectual vigour. He is a man of reformed views though he never aggressively puts them before his countrymen. He has availed himself of the long vacations of his Court in visiting France, Italy and England, not to speak of countries nearer India. His sympathies with the Congress movement are well known to his countrymen, and on some occasions he had been induced to appear in the ranks of Congress delegates, during the early years of the Congress, and has latterly taken an active part in its deliberations. He presided at the meeting that was held to condemn the administration of Lord Curzon after that erratic pro-consul made his celebrated speech at the Calcutta University Convocation, and the tact with which he pronounced his indictment on that administration showed that he knew how to deal with complicated situations in political life. He has not adopted European modes of life or dress and his official dress is the *chaphan* and *choga* of his countrymen. He married twice but never had any issue and he has now been a widower for many years. He has strong affections for those nearly related to him and he does all that is necessary for their comfort and advancement in life. He goes to bed very late and prolongs his studies till the small hours of the morning. Apart from his professional work he devotes still some hours every day to reading. He works as hard as any living man and stands it. He was to have presided over the deliberations of the 23rd Indian National Congress at Surat but the Congress having proved abortive, a convention was formed under his presidency, which has drawn up two important creeds for the acceptance of those who would be loyal to the Congress—an event, by the way, the most important in the annals of politics in India.

THE SINS OF LORD CURZON

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose presided at a public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall on the 10th March 1905, to protest against Lord Curzon's damaging characterization of the people of India in his notorious Convocation Speech of the Calcutta University, and spoke as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,

In rising to address you I must begin with a word or two about myself, but I promise to be very brief as an immoderate use of the first personal pronoun appears to me to be much more offensive than an immoderate use of adjectives. The first thing that I have to say about myself is that I cannot claim to be a hero of a hundred platforms or even of one, nor am I an habitual reviler of authority. I can also solemnly affirm that I have never taken any part in the debates of the Indian National Congress. And if I am here this afternoon, it is not because I take any delight in railing at Government but because I honestly believe that Lord Curzon is lacking in that breadth of vision, tactfulness and flexibility of temper which we naturally expect in one occupying the unique position of an Indian Viceroy. (*Hear, hear*).

His Lordship, if I may say so without impertinence, is undoubtedly possessed of great and varied gifts, but the Gods are jealous and it would be flattery which, as we all know, his Lordship hates, to affirm that he possesses in any large measure those qualities, which are so essential in the representative of His Majesty in this country. Does anybody doubt it? Let him read the Chancellor's

speech on the last Convocation day of the Calcutta University. The style of that speech was certainly not Asiatic. Nobody could accuse Lord Curzon of such an offence against good taste. But did it possess the Attic grace and lightness? Decidedly not. The whole speech was in, what Matthew Arnold calls the Corinthian style—a style which his Lordship strongly urged our young men to avoid. (*Hear, hear*).

There was not the least trace of light or sweetness in that speech which was redolent not of the "olive grove of the Academy" but of the House of Commons, or perhaps it would be truer to say of the hustings. It was full of sarcasms, full of sneers in which sympathy with the people of this country who may be said to be the wards of England was conspicuous only by its absence.

One of the greatest political figures in England said on a memorable occasion that he did not know how to frame an indictment against a whole nation but Lord Curzon, dressed in the Chancellor's robe and a brief little authority was able to frame an indictment not only against the people of India, but also against all the various nations of Asia—Asia which gave to the world Gautama Buddha, Jesus Christ, and Mahomed who may not have taught men how to rule but who certainly taught them how to live and how to die. (*Cheers*).

The truth is the theories of race, as Sir Henry Maine tells us, have little merit except the facility which they give to some persons, half educated writers of doggerels, for instance, to build on them inferences tremendously out of proportion to the mental labour which they cost the builder. And in this context, I would venture to ask his Lordship, who is a scholar, if

praise is not often given to successful deception in the ancient classical literature of the West on which the youths of Europe are nurtured even at the present day ? (*Hear, hear*).

In one of his numerous speeches—there are very few brilliant flashes of silence—Lord Courzon said : “You will never rule the East except through the heart.” Is the Convocation speech of his Lordship likely to win our affection ? And yet it is easy enough to touch our hearts, as easy, say, as it is, to pass a Validating Act through the Viceroy’s Council.

One word more before I part with this painful topic. The Indian, says Lord Curzon, is most certainly a citizen of the British Empire, and his Lordship is indignant at the idea that he is a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, but nobody, I think, would take such a statement literally any more than his Lordship’s reference to High Court Judges, Ministers of Native States and high Executive and Judicial officers in the service of Government. His Lordship, however, has no reason to be surprised if in moments of spleen such expressions occasionally drop from some of my young and impulsive countrymen; for I find that in his Guildhall speech, Lord Curzon said : “It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations equally of Demetora and Natal, with Indian trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile; with Indian forest officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam; with Indian surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth.” In this picture drawn by the hand of no mean artist, the Indian stands in the foreground, it is true, but only you will notice, as a tiller of the earth, making it flow with milk and honey for strangers. (*Shame.*)

I will now pass on to some of the legislative and administrative measures of his Lordship. The history of the present Calcutta Municipal Act is familiar to you all, and I need not relate it; but every one of you may not know that, though Sir Alexander Mackenzie sought to make the Chairman independent of the Corporation in the discharge of his executive duties, we owe the curtailment of the elected element in the new Corporation to Lord Curzon who proposed the reduction as a most effective though "hitherto unsuggested check" upon the abuses and anomalies which it was said had grown up under the old system. Sir Alexander Mackenzie would have at least left us the shadow of Self-Government, but to Lord Curzon belongs the credit of reducing it to the shadow of a mere shade. The chastisement administered by his Lordship was thus severer than that proposed by his Lieutenant. The present Municipal Act is now generally admitted to have been a blunder which, in such cases, means a good deal. ✓

And this leads me to remark that the proposed partition of Bengal is also an "unsuggested check," should I be very wrong in saying, on the struggling sentiments and stifled aspirations of the people of Bengal. The alarm which the proposal has created is, I can solemnly assert, perfectly genuine and has spread even to those who are ordinarily in the habit of regarding Government measures as the dispensations of a mysterious power. The grounds on which our opposition to the threatened partition is based were so fully discussed by Sir Henry Cotton in this very hall, a short time ago, that it would be a work of supererogation to re-state them on the present occasion. The Viceroy, however, seems to have made up his mind and is determined to divide Bengal. And in connection with this question I may

mention that text-books for Primary Schools are henceforth to be compiled in local dialects, because our administrators are particularly solicitous for the welfare of the silent and inarticulate masses who if they learned to speak at all, should they think, learn to speak only in their own native dialects. Whether persons who are not administrators are likely to regard the proposal in the same light is a question which I will not pause to discuss. I may, however, point out that if our officials were possessed of the gift of seeing themselves as others see them, they would command much greater respect. (*Hear, hear*).

The abolition of the competitive test would also seem to be another unsuggested reform. It is true the Public Service Commission, presided over by Sir Charles Aitchison, reported that "in parts of the country where the general educational conditions are more advanced than elsewhere, especially the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay and the Lower Provinces of Bengal, a system of open competition would give satisfaction to some important classes of the community and would meet objections that are justly felt in a system of nomination. But Lord Curzon is wiser than the members of the Public Service Commission, wiser than Mill, wiser than Macaulay, wiser than the distinguished statesmen who accomplished a similar reform in the Civil Service in England. It may be true that the competitive system has some drawbacks, but experience has shown that it everywhere increases the efficiency of the public service and stimulates the acquisition of knowledge. Above all, as a thoughtful writer who is also a statesman has observed, it strengthens the social feeling for the maxim that the career should be open to the talents. Lord Curzon, however, is anxious to "free the intellectual activities of the Indian people, keen and restless as they

are from the paralyzing clutch of examinations, for which every idle lad in this country ought, I think, to be grateful to him.

And this brings me to the Universities Act, one of the gifts of Lord Curzon to this country which my countrymen refuse to accept, because they regard it with distrust. By this Act the whole system of higher education has been practically placed under official control. This is not all. Lord Curzon's measure will place University education beyond the reach of many boys belonging to the middle class. And here, perhaps, I may be permitted to remark that to talk of the highest mental culture as the sole aim of university training betrays a singular misconception of the conditions of Indian life. Our students go to the Universities in such large numbers because they cannot otherwise enter any of the learned professions or even qualify themselves for service under Government. I would also point out that education, though it may not reach a very high standard, is still a desirable thing, on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread. The fallacy that lurks, in Pope's well-known couplet, has been so clearly exposed by Macaulay, Whately, John Stuart Mill and last though not least by Mr. Morley, that I will not occupy your time with discussing it. One word more. The standard of education will never be improved either by Universities Acts or Validating Acts. It can only be done by attracting to this country, as teachers of our youth, men distinguished by their scholarship or by their scientific attainments, like those who occupy the chairs in European Universities.— (*Hear, hear.*)

The Official Secrets Act is another measure which we owe to Lord Curzon's Government. It was passed

in the face of the unanimous opposition of both communities. The *Englishman*, the leading newspaper, the European and the Indian in this part of the country, thus spoke of the Bill when it was before the Council: "Very grave rumours, which we mention for what they are worth," credit the Government of India with bringing forward amendments to the Official Secrets Bill, which leave its principal defects untouched. What those defects are, have been clearly and unmistakably pointed out, and they are so serious that the Viceroy speaking from his place in the Legislative Council in December, professed to stand aghast at the picture of official Machiavellianism which they reveal. His Excellency also professed to have been moved by these criticisms and he gave a solemn pledge that so far as in him lay, the provisions which were so universally execrated would be modified or withdrawn. "I believe," said Lord Curzon, "that when the Select Committee meet they will find that their labours are neither so severe nor so contentious as has been supposed, and that a satisfactory measure can be placed upon the Statute Book which need not strike terror into the heart of a single innocent person." This meant nothing if it did not mean that the Government of India has been impressed by the arguments employed against the Bill and that it had decided to meet them in the spirit of real concession. The speech was so interpreted by the Press which, although it was absolutely unanimous in opposing the measure, decided to intermit its criticism and to wait for the promised amendments. It was so interpreted by the leading commercial bodies which have only refrained from addressing Government on the ground that, after the Viceroy's speech, this obnoxious measure was likely to be wholly recast. If it be true, however, that the

divulgence of civil secrets is still to be penalized, we have not the slightest hesitation in saying that one at least of its worst features is being retained. The public is in no mood to be treated in such a manner, and it becomes our duty to warn the Government that, if this provision or any of the other cardinal vices of the Bill remain, it must make up its mind to the renewal of agitation which will not slacken until the measure has been withdrawn—or repealed. But Lord Curzon remained unmoved and the Bill was passed into law, for his Lordship seems only to care for the opinion of the inarticulate masses,—“whose hearts”, I may mention in passing, according to Lord Curzon, “had been touched with the idea of a common sentiment and a common aim” by the Delhi Durbar and in whom his Lordship has noticed “a steady and growing advance in loyalty” during his administration.

“Public opinion in India,” said his Lordship from his place as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, “cannot for a long time be the opinion of the public, that is of the masses, because they are uneducated and have no opinion in political matters at all.” This probably is the reason why so little attention is paid to the views of the elected members in the Legislative Councils who sit there merely to play the part of the chorus in a Greek tragedy. But surely we cannot be asked to wait till the masses who do not know what it is to have a full meal from year’s end to year’s end cease to feel the pangs of hunger and become sufficiently educated to discuss the ways of a foreign bureaucracy. In that case we shall have to wait for that dim and distant future when, according to Lord Curzon’s forecast, some approach to an Indian nation will have been evolved. His Lordship also said that public opinion if it is to

have any weight must be co-ordinated with the necessities and interests and desires of the community who are perhaps hardly capable of formulating an opinion of their own. So long as this co-ordination is not achieved no weight, it would seem, should be attached to public opinion in this country, and I imagine that it was on this account that the Government of Lord Curzon paid no attention to the opinion of the educated minority of the Official Secrets Act, the Universities Act or the recent Validating Act which compromised the dignity alike of the Legislative Council and of His Majesty's Judges.

And this reminds me that in the course of his Convocation speech Lord Curzon said, "of course, in India, it is very difficult to create or to give utterance to a public opinion that is really representative because there are so many different classes whose interests do not always coincide; for instance, the English and the Indians, and the Hindus and Mahomedans, the officials and non-officials, the agriculturists and the industrialists." If Lord Curzon is right, there can be no such thing as true public opinion even in England; for there are many questions on which controversies between different classes of the community must arise from time to time. To take one example out of many; the interests of the capitalists are frequently in conflict with those of the working man. Is it therefore to be said that public opinion in England is merely sectional? So in this country questions may arise on which the Englishman may be divided against the Indian, the Hindu against the Mahomedan, the agriculturist against the industrialist but surely where there is no such conflict the Government cannot ignore the opinion of the educated classes as an altogether negligible quantity.

The truth is, Lord Curzon believes whatever he desires and is never troubled with any misgivings. His

Lordship also seems to think that he has got, to use a homely phrase, a clean slate and that whatever is, is wrong. Now energy and a zeal for reform are no doubt excellent things in their way, but an excess of either is not regarded as a virtue in a statesman.

Gentlemen, we all admire Lord Curzon's undoubted abilities, his intense devotion to duty and his monumental industry. Simla is certainly no longer a Cupua. We do not also distrust his love for India which he has told us, is, next to his own country, the nearest to his heart, nor are we offended with him because he is rather fond of playing the part of the candid friend. But we doubt with all deference, his possession of those higher qualities of statesmanship which are essential in a ruler of men and in none perhaps more essential than in an Indian Viceroy. The Convocation speech betrays the limitations of his Lordship in a manner not to be mistaken.

To sum up, almost all his Lordship's measures have tended towards strengthening the Simla bureaucracy and Russianising, I thank the *Englishmen* for teaching me the word, our system of administration. This has been specially shown by his attack on Municipal Self-Government in the case of the Calcutta Corporation; his Education Act, which destroys the independence of the Universities and converts them into a department of Government, and in his measures against the freedom of the press. The result has certainly not been "a steady and growing advance in the loyalty of the Indian people" of which Lord Curzon spoke with some unction to an English audience last year. Optimism, however, is blind. But the moving finger writes, and having writ moves on.

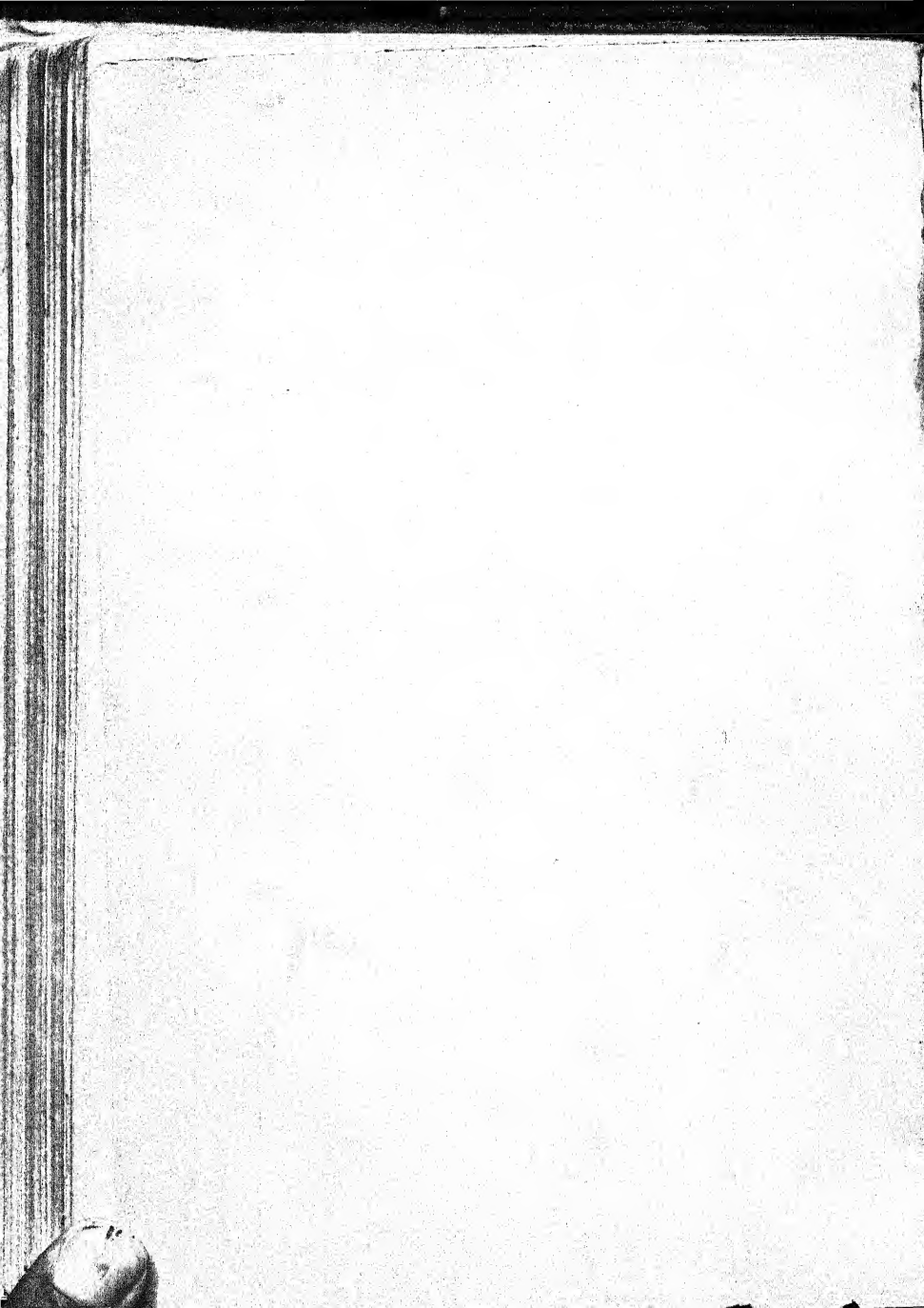
In one of his speeches Lord Curzon spoke of regard for our feelings, respect for our prejudices and deference

even to our scruples. But the dominant note of his administration has been a disregard of public opinion and an impatience of criticism which betrays itself conspicuously in almost every word of his Convocation speech. It may be said of him, what Metternick said of an English statesman of the last century, that he is an audacious and passionate marksman ready to make arrows out of any wood.

In the very first speech that Lord Curzon delivered in India he said that he would act in a manner not unworthy of that august and benign sovereign whom he is privileged to represent. He also said that he would spare no efforts to fortify, to diffuse, and encourage that feeling of loyalty to the English throne which holds together the diverse races and creeds of this country. Does his Lordship believe that his last Convocation speech fulfils these promises? His Lordship also said that sympathy shall be one of the key-notes of his administration. Is any sympathy discernible in his Convocation speech, any feeling for the sentiments of the people in his proposed partition of Bengal, any sympathy with the poor and struggling student who only seeks to earn a living by passing through the University? As for the educated classes all that Lord Curzon has to say is that "there are some people who clamour for boons which it is impossible to give." And here I may be permitted to remind his Lordship that though we are loyal to England, a country to which we owe so much, and though sufferance is the badge of all our tribe, we have, like other men, senses, affections, and passions.

I trust I have not done any injustice to Lord Curzon indeed, I think I might without any difficulty have made out a case, but the half is sometimes better than the

whole. I have not said aught in malice and have carefully avoided rhetoric. Gentlemen, it is always disagreeable to have to speak of ourselves, but I am bound to say that I am not one of those who purchase their opinions for an anna or less a day, nor I am in the habit of calumniating my opponents who consist exclusively of my learned friends at the Bar. I have also never taken part in the manufacture of public opinion, but if in spite of my best endeavour to guard myself from those vices against which Lord Curzon raised his warning voice the other day, I have done any injustice to his Lordship, I can only console myself with the reflection that there are some infirmities from which the average man cannot altogether free himself. "The contemporaries of superior men," observes Goethe, "may easily go wrong about them. Peculiarity discomposes them, the swift current of life disturbs the point of view and prevents them from understanding and appreciating such men." (*Loud Cheers.*)



LALA LAJPAT RAI

Who is a great man? asks Lord Beaconsfield, and answers the question himself. It is he who 'affects the mind of his generation.' Judged by this test, Lala Lajpat Rai is undoubtedly a great man.

He was born in 1865 of humble but respectable parents in the small town of Jagaran in the district of Ludhiana.

His father Munshi Radha Krishen Lala, who is fortunately living, is an excellent Urdu writer and the author of numerous pamphlets and books. Straight-forward and honest, he is a great lover of knowledge. While a student, Lala Lajpat Rai distinguished himself at every stage, his weak health and narrow circumstances notwithstanding. He studied in the Government College at Lahore for two years being in receipt of a University scholarship. Having passed the first certificate examination of Law of the Punjab University he started practice in 1883, when he was hardly eighteen years of age.

Two years later he passed the final examination standing second in a list of thirty candidates. While sympathising with and aiding every movement which made for progress, Lala Lajpat Rai early in his life identified himself with the Arya Samaj in which he found at first ample scope for the exercise of his patriotism, philanthropy and religious zeal. The visit of Swami Dayanand in 1877 marked a turning point in the social and religious development of the Punjab. By pointing to the pristine purity and simplicity of

the Vedas, Swami Dayanand condemned on the one hand the corruption and decay which had crept into popular Hinduism, and on the other satisfied the cravings of the national spirit which in those early days sought to realise itself in the field of social and religious reform. A gospel like the illustrious Swami's was a trumpet call for men to array themselves in opposite camps. Lala Lajpat Rai and his friends were not the men in those stirring days to look on unconcerned as if they had no part to play in the fray. Guru Dutt, Hansraj and Lajpat Rai were constituted Apostles of the new evangel. It was true they were students. But they did the work of grown-up men,—preaching, debating and spreading the cause throughout the length and breadth of the Punjab. Hansraj being the eldest of the three counselled, Guru Dutt inspired, and Lajpat Rai carried out the plan of missionary operations. In internal constructive work, too, the three young men took a leading part.

Having qualified as a pleader, Lala Lajpat Rai elected to settle down to practise at Hissar in the Punjab. He practised down to 1892 when he became the leader of the local bar. He also acted for three years as honorary secretary of the Hissar Municipal Board. In 1892 he transferred his practice to the wider field of Lahore, whose Chief Court is practically the High Court of the Punjab.

In education, secular and religious, Lala Lajpat Rai has long taken a very active interest. He took part in the foundation of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, a first Grade College, with an endowment of some five lakhs which he was largely instrumental in collecting. He is a Vice-President of the Institution, and off and on for about a dozen years he has acted as its

honorary secretary. He has taken an active part in teaching, having several times acted as honorary lecturer in History. He has made large donations to its funds. He is secretary also to the Anglo-Sanskrit College at Jalunder and a member of the Managing Committees of a number of Arya Samaj Schools in the province."

It was chiefly his interest in education that took him to America in 1905, where he visited many educational institutions and took careful notes for future guidance. We may also mention that he gave important evidence before Lord Curzon's University Commission in 1902.

His attention was not confined to matters educational. In other departments of social service as well, the Lala's activity has been marked. He organized relief works and orphanages, the outcome of his disinterested love for humanity in general and his community in particular. For several years he has been General Secretary of the Arya Samaj Orphanage at Ferozepur, by far the largest Hindu orphanage in Northern India, having several hundreds of orphans in its books. He is a member of the Managing Committee of the Waifs' Orphanage at Meerut, also a well endowed and flourishing institution. In 1897, and again in 1899-1900, he organised a Hindu Orphan Relief movement which succoured over 2,000 orphans, and he acted on both occasions as its General Secretary. The Government availed themselves of his experience in 1901, when he was invited to give evidence before the Famine Commission. His evidence was specially valuable as he had personally inspected the areas largely affected by famine.

In April 1905, on the occasion of the great earthquake in the Kangra District, he organised a relief

committee on behalf of the Lahore Arya Samaj; and, as Secretary of that Committee, he visited areas particularly afflicted, collected funds and himself supervised the administration of relief. His philanthropic undertakings—living embodiments of his *Thyaga and Paropakara*—testify to his high capacity as financier and organizer.

Lala Lajpat Rai is also a man of extensive business connections. He is a Director of the Punjab National Bank, the first and the largest Indian Bank in Lahore. He is interested in several cotton mills and cotton presses in the Punjab, being in several cases on the Board of Directors.

Lala Lajpat Rai claims attention as a man of letters. As a journalist, he has for several years edited a vernacular magazine and a vernacular weekly journal, both conducted in the interests of religious and social reform and educational progress. He has published in Urdu biographical monographs on Mazzini, Garibaldi, Sivaji, Swami Dayanand and Sri Krishna—books which have been widely read and greatly appreciated in the province. He has been in constant touch with several newspapers conducted in English, contributing to them frequently on the leading questions of the day. He has also written in English a life of Pandit Gurudatta Vidyarthi, M. A., the Indian Reformer. He has compiled a concise historical account of Hindu civilisation down to the commencement of the Mussalman period.

Lala Lajpat Rai has always felt drawn towards politics.

It was in 1888 A. D. that Lala Lajpat Rai joined the Indian National Congress movement when it met at Allahabad under the presidency of Mr. George Yule.

In 1905, the Indian National Congress Committee having recognised in him an austere, sincere and selfless devotion to his country and her cause, selected him as one of its delegates to place before the British public the political grievances of the Indian people. The Indian Association of the Punjab voted Rs. 3,000 for the expenses of his tour in England : but he who had himself disbursed money for philanthropic and patriotic objects would have none of the money but gave it back to the support and benefit of students, and met his expenses out of his own pocket. In the political campaign, carried on in several parts of England, the Indian representatives brought home to the mind of the Britisher the evils of unsympathetic bureaucratic government under which India was labouring, and pleaded in eloquent language, adducing facts and figures in support of their contention, the cause of the half-starving and half-dying people of India.

In the deliberations of the Indian National Congress which assembled in 1905 at the holy city of Benares under the presidency of Mr. G. K. Gokhale, he took a leading part, and supported a resolution on the "repressive measures in Bengal."

The greatest fact in Lala Lajpat Rai's career and the one which has made his name a household word in every part of India is his Deportation. Lala Lajpat Rai, true mariner that he is, read the signs of the coming storm ; and the letter which he handed over to the editor of the *Punjabee* a few hours before his arrest, remains the most remarkable example of political prescience which has ever emanated from the pen of any Indian politician.

The notorious Partition of Bengal was the precursor of a new political phenomenon in India—the birth of the

nascent Nationalism. This infant political growth, the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats could not and would not tolerate. Of the ways and means they devised to strangle the national movement one was to strike a blow at the influence of popular leaders. Unpopular measures, like the Colonization Act which has since been wisely disallowed by the Viceroy, had stirred popular feeling which vented itself in public meetings. Of these meetings the Lala, according to Mr. John Morley himself, attended only two, not on his own initiative but at the express request of the people. When the Lala who was sent for by the people to explain the object of the unpopular measures of the Government, was on his way to the meeting, he was intercepted by the local Satrap and the Superintendent of Police, and advised not to deliver any lecture on pain of forcible dispersal of the meeting, and the loyal Lala Lajpat Rai accordingly informed the assembled people of the intentions of the Magistrate and caused them to disperse peacefully. The law is glorified when thieves and robbers, decoits and murderers, and persons of moral and spiritual depravity are visited with condign punishment. But when the flower of a nation are chosen for arbitrary punishment, the law degenerates into a savage weapon. Lala Lajpat Rai is undoubtedly among the choicest spirits of the age and of the race. Like captain Dreyfus, he is an innocent victim of the rulers of the land.

His letter addressed to the *Punjabes* a few hours before his secret arrest and dark deportation seems *providential*; but his appeal and warning to his Bengal friends assembled in the Benares Congress is *prophetic*. "If you have adopted this manly and vigorous policy, *be prepared for the logical consequence (cheers)*. Don't conceal your heads, don't behave like cowards. Once having

adopted that manly policy, stick to it till the last." The one reads like an unconscious autobiography, but the other fully lays bare the straightforwardness of a mind standing foursquare to all the winds that might blow. Questions without number were put in the British Parliament to the biographer of Gladstone and Burke, but were treated with scant courtesy. Under great pressure, Mr. Morley first tried diplomatic methods of persuasion to inspire confidence in the persistent members of Parliament who are interested in Indian progress, and these proved futile. It was only after his conference with Sir D. Ibbetson, "one of the ablest and most experienced Lieutenant-Governors," that he gave out the grounds on which he sanctioned this extreme and quite uncalled-for action.

In the deportation of the Lala—an idealist, enthusiast, *litterateur*, practical philanthropist, bold politician, accomplished lawyer, cool-headed financier, cautious investor, earnest religious preacher and devout Arya Samajist, politics in India entered upon a new phase and will, ere long, develop into a force which it will be impossible for any human power, armed though it be with the most drastic laws and a formidable array of soldiers and a magazine of shots and bullets, to change; and on the right evolution of the collective and mutually interdependent forces brought into play, the salvation of India depends.

It is a happy sign of the times that this fact is recognised even in the highest quarters.

The Government of India at last thought fit to restore the spotless and illustrious Lala to his proper sphere, an act of justice for which there should have been no occasion..

SWADESHI MOVEMENT

Speech delivered by Lala Lajpat Rai at the All-India Swadeshi Conference, held at Surat in 1907.

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I do not know how to thank you and my countrymen at large for the great kindness which you and they have shown to me. It is impossible to give an adequate expression to the feelings of gratitude and thankfulness that the wonderful receptions accorded to me here, there, and everywhere, have evoked in me ever since my return from my short and enforced exile. I have been the fortunate recipient of so many manifestations of love and regard from my countrymen of all classes, that words seem to be too poor a vehicle to convey my feelings of gratefulness to them. Even if I had a hundred lives to sacrifice in the service of my country, they could furnish but poor opportunities of my doing adequate justice to the honor and esteem that I have been shown the last five weeks. They have touched the deepest chords of my heart, and have brightened my vision of the future of my countrymen. The extraordinary outburst of feeling for individuals which has found expression during the last two years throughout the length and breadth of our country, is undoubtedly a striking and new spectacle. It cannot be satisfactorily explained by the public services of these men although some of them have rendered eminent services to the country. It cannot be said of all and least of all, an humble individual like myself.

In my eyes, this outburst of feeling has a deeper reason than the services of individuals. It is one

indication of the growing consciousness of the National Unity. India was hitherto said to be only a geographical expression. It has now begun to aspire, under the guidance of an All-Wise Providence, to a unified political existence, and to a place in the comity of nations. The congeries of nations that are said to inhabit this vast territory have, after a long period of disunion and disorganisation, begun to realise that after all, they are one people with one common blood running through their veins, with common traditions, a common history, and a common faith in their future. It is true that communities are divided from communities, sects from sects, and Provinces from Provinces, by differences of religion, language and customs. The wave of Western civilization, however, with its unifying influences, is levelling down these differences and creating a community of interest and feeling which is the precursor of a new dawn in our life. Sometime ago, people began to look back and find that with all their differences, they were, after all, the branches of a common tree, the descendants of the same stock, the inheritors of the same civilisation, with local differences only. Practically they were the speakers of the same language. Even Mahomedans, taken as a whole, could not say that in their traditions, languages and customs, they had nothing in common with the Hindus. This looking backwards made them compare their present position with the position of other people in other parts of the world, and led them to look forward. Thus was awakened the national consciousness which, for want of greater occasions, has begun to exhibit itself in demonstrations and ovations in honour of individuals, who have even by slight sacrifices earned the distinction of being the servants of the country

Interpreting these ovations in this sense, I feel I have every reason to rejoice over them.

I join with you in congratulating myself as being the fortunate recipient of these marks of honour and respect, for which I thank you most sincerely, and through you, the other classes of my countrymen.

It has, however, been dinned into my ears ever since I reached Lahore, and was once more a comparatively free man, that a large number of my countrymen had betrayed me, that my deportation was due principally to Mahomedan machinations, that a number of Hindu gentlemen also had combined, consciously or unconsciously to bring about what they considered to be the ruin of the cause that I had at heart, that a large number of my friends and co-workers deserted me in the hour of my troubles, and purchased their safety, either by ignoring me or by disowning me and my principles. I am told that under the circumstances, the political amelioration of the country is a hopeless task, for which I need waste no more of my time and energies. I am further told that in the light of the experience of the last six months, it is futile to base any hope of political salvation upon the union of Hindus and Mahomedans, that such union is impossible, that our people are an inert mass having no life to assert, and too ignorant to understand their rights and that the leading men are mostly corrupt, selfish, ease-loving and cowardly, that while talking loudly of political emancipation and liberty, they are wanting in the courage of their convictions, and are not prepared to suffer for the ideas, that the political ideas that obtained in the educated party, and their conception of political rights were entirely foreign, borrowed bodily from the West without any reference to their suitability

to the genius and traditions of the nation, and that under the circumstances, the best interests of our people lie in directions other than political, and that we should be contented with the sort of Government we have got, and should studiously avoid doing any thing that may be offensive to the authorities.

The incidents of the last three days have unfortunately lent colour to these pleadings and I am told that now at any rate I should have no doubt as to the incapacity of my countrymen for the political institutions of the West. This, however, is the language of despair to which I am not prepared to listen. Firstly as to the misfortunes of the last six months, I cannot admit that they were entirely due to Mahomedan machinations. I am certain that the so-called Mahomedan machinations were supported and backed by a number of Hindu informers and sycophants, and it is not right to condemn a whole community for the sins of a few. It cannot be doubted for a moment that the country as a whole stood fairly well by the victims of official oppression. To me it is a marvel that such was the case, and that the number of traitors and black sheep was not larger than it was found to be. I have had numerous evidences of sympathy of Mahomedans other than the limited class of title-hunters and place-hunters and I still believe that, with the spread of education among Mahomedans, the combination of Hindus and Mahomedans for political purposes is not an impossibility.

But how can I ever forget the numerous marks of grief and sympathy which I read on faces of the Mahomedan dhobies (washermen) and other low caste people when they happened to pass by me during my walks in the Fort at Mandalay? Why, I saw some of them weeping and shedding tears out of sympathy for me.

The authorities tried their level best to prevent my countrymen at Mandalay from showing any marks of respect towards me, but I can never forget that there were numbers who did not, up to the last day yield to this pressure and continued to salam me. The sympathy that I read on the faces of my countrymen while passing by me at Mandalay has left deep impression on my mind, and that impression has been still deepened by what I have seen and felt since my return to my own native land.

I do not believe, gentlemen, that the idea of Hindu and Mahomedan unity is only a phantern. But even if it were so, are we, the representatives of 20 crores of Hindus in India, to take things quietly as they are, and allow our people to sink deeper and deeper into misery which can only lead them and us to complete national death, which is inevitable, if the existing political and economic conditions are to continue for any length of time? I, on my part, gentlemen, decline to give way to pessimism. Mine is a religion of hope and faith. I believe in struggling a righteous, stern and unyielding struggle. I am quite prepared for defeats and repulses. The colossal difficulties in the way of success, the discouraging circumstances relied on by advocates of inactivity do not overwhelm me. In fact I am inclined to take them, as a greater reason for a more determined struggle; according to my political creed, every repulse ought to furnish a fresh starting-point for a renewed, more righteous and more vigorous activity. The political principles, which I believe in very strongly, are that nations are by themselves made, and it is righteousness that exalteth a nation.

Under these circumstances, my countrymen, my humble advice to you is to be neither nervous nor

hysterical, to maintain a dignified, firm, manly, but righteous attitude, amidst difficulties and storms, and to continue the struggle in the light of experience gained.

With a heart for any fate
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.

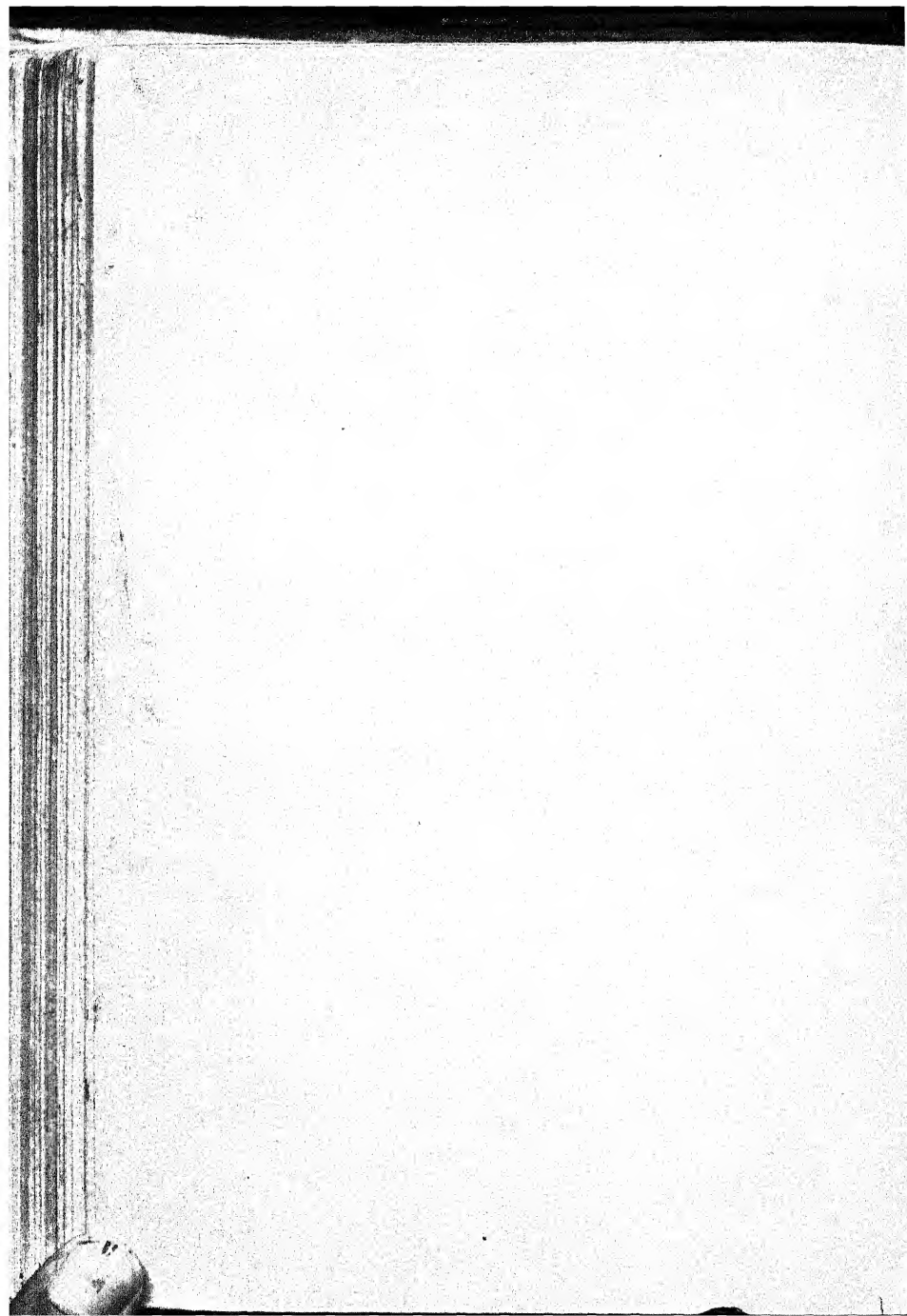
Now a word as to our mutual relations. True to their instincts and traditions, our enemies are trying to bring about schism amongst the patriotic party. Unfortunately, their efforts have already met with success, and a deplorable schism has already taken place which is extremely painful and humiliating to every patriotic Indian. For some time to come, the efforts of every true son of India will have to be directed to bring about a reconciliation amongst brothers that have for the present parted. The latest move is to play the Moderates against the Extremists and *vice versa*. To tell you the truth, I do not know whether these words truly represent the principles of the parties that are called after these names. I, for one, do not like these names. But if these words are to stick to us, I would beg of my Moderate friends not to play into the hands of the enemies; for, to do so, will be, in the words of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, to make confusion worse confounded. It may be that some of the so-called Extremist methods are not to their liking, but for that reason to give them over to the enemy and to force them into the position of perpetual opponents by slighting them or holding them to the persecution of the Government and to the ridicule of the Anglo-Indian will not be wisdom. It would eventually involve us in difficulties and controversies which might exhaust all the time and energy available for national work. To my Extremist friends, I would respectfully appeal not to be impatient of

slowness of age and voice of practical experience. It will be an evil day for the Hindus, the Mahomedans and the Parsis, when they allow their national characteristics to be entirely swept away by Western manners and methods. Let us never forget that we are not an upstart people having no traditions and no past to boast of. Respect for age, regard for seniority, reverence for ties of blood and relationship, constitute the most valuable heritage bequeathed to us by our forefathers, and we shall be going backward rather than forward in exchanging them for the noisy and at times undesirably pushful manners of the West. In any case, it is absolutely necessary to observe and maintain discipline in public life. Without it we may be only confounding chaos with progress. I would, therefore, beg of you to do nothing which would hamper the growth of responsible public life in the country. My Moderate and Extremist friends will not, I hope, misunderstand me. I do not say that they have done anything to deserve my remarks. Mine is only a danger signal.

One word more and I have done. The country is now in the grip of a dire famine. The nation that we aspire to serve mostly lives in huts and cottages, and is in great distress. The Government is doing its duty or at any rate professes to do it, in providing relief to the unfortunate victims of famine. Shall we the blood of their blood, lag behind and do nothing to relieve the distress of the aged and the poor? The highest dictates of patriotism require that our sympathies should go forth to the help of the destitute and the wretched, and that by sharing what has been given to us with our countrymen in distress we should conclusively establish our claims to speak for them, and to demand their co-operation with us in the ensuing struggle. Our claims to their regard and love should be

based upon substantial services and not merely on lip-sympathy expressed in paper resolutions. I, therefore, appeal to my friends and co-workers, to put their shoulders to the wheel, to organize a non-official famine relief campaign in the famine-affected Provinces to collect funds, and to carry sympathy and help to all homes and places in need of the same. The young, the aged and the women, specially called to us for help, and it will be a shame if we decline to respond to this call and spend the whole stock of our energies in academic controversies and wordy warfare. I know that work is tremendous, and that the difficulties are still more so. But it affords the most useful and most effective training for disinterested patriotic life. Even partial success in this direction will be a very valuable moral asset, and an object-lesson to those who have to continue the work after us."

At the conclusion of his address the Lala referred to the *Swadeshi* movement and said that he had been *Swadeshi* all his life. They were indebted to the Bengalis for having installed *Swadeshi* on its proper pedestal and created an atmosphere in their province which had permeated all classes, and unless they tried to extend the scope of *Swadeshi* irrespective of caste and creeds they could not hope for greater success. The spirit of *Swadeshi* ought to prevail in all departments of life, subject to the one condition that whatever they had to learn from the West in order to maintain progress and secure prosperity, they need not be ashamed to learn. There was no use in going back. They could only go back consistently with their national interest; otherwise it would be suicidal. They could not but be affected by predominant civilisation. They must learn to fight out the battle for nationality in modern terms under modern conditions, and try to use those weapons which were used against them.



field. As early as the third Indian National Congress held at Madras, he spoke on the repeal of the Arms Act delivering a speech which the Congress Report of the year characterises as a prefervid.

In 1900, Bepin Babu went to Oxford as a scholarship-holder to study Comparative Theology. The usual course of studies extended over two years, but the Principal of the Theological College was so impressed with his ability and progress that he awarded him the usual certificate at the end of one year only. He then travelled widely in England, France and America, lecturing in many places and earning his livelihood by contributions to magazines, English and American. In 1901, he returned to India and soon after started a weekly organ called *New India*, which, for some time, he edited with marked ability. In the years 1901 and 1902, he toured in South India as a missionary of the Brahmo Samaj.

He quarrels with his father and becomes a Brahmo while still a youth, battles with adverse fate, starts a school in his rash enthusiasm and loses his patrimony, once again battles with fate, wanders for some time as a recluse, boldly marries a widow—we need not go further—evidently no ordinary humdrum every-day-sort-of man that! But the best part of his life is still to tell.

A new era dawned on India with the Partition of Bengal and likewise a new chapter opened in the life of Bepin Babu with that memorable event. As remarked before, he was not an unknown figure in the political field till then. He had often spoken from the Congress platform. In 1898 he was the co-adjutant of the late Mr. A. M. Bose in the campaign, the latter carried on in England on behalf of India, for which the Congress thanked them both by a special resolution. But after the Partition he

came to the forefront of the political fight. He addressed meeting after meeting. He carried the banner of 'boycott' and 'no mendicancy' throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. He started the *Bande Mataram*, since defunct, which was in the hands of a famous person to impress itself so indelibly on the life of the country during its brief hour of glorious life. Clearly he became a force to be reckoned with.

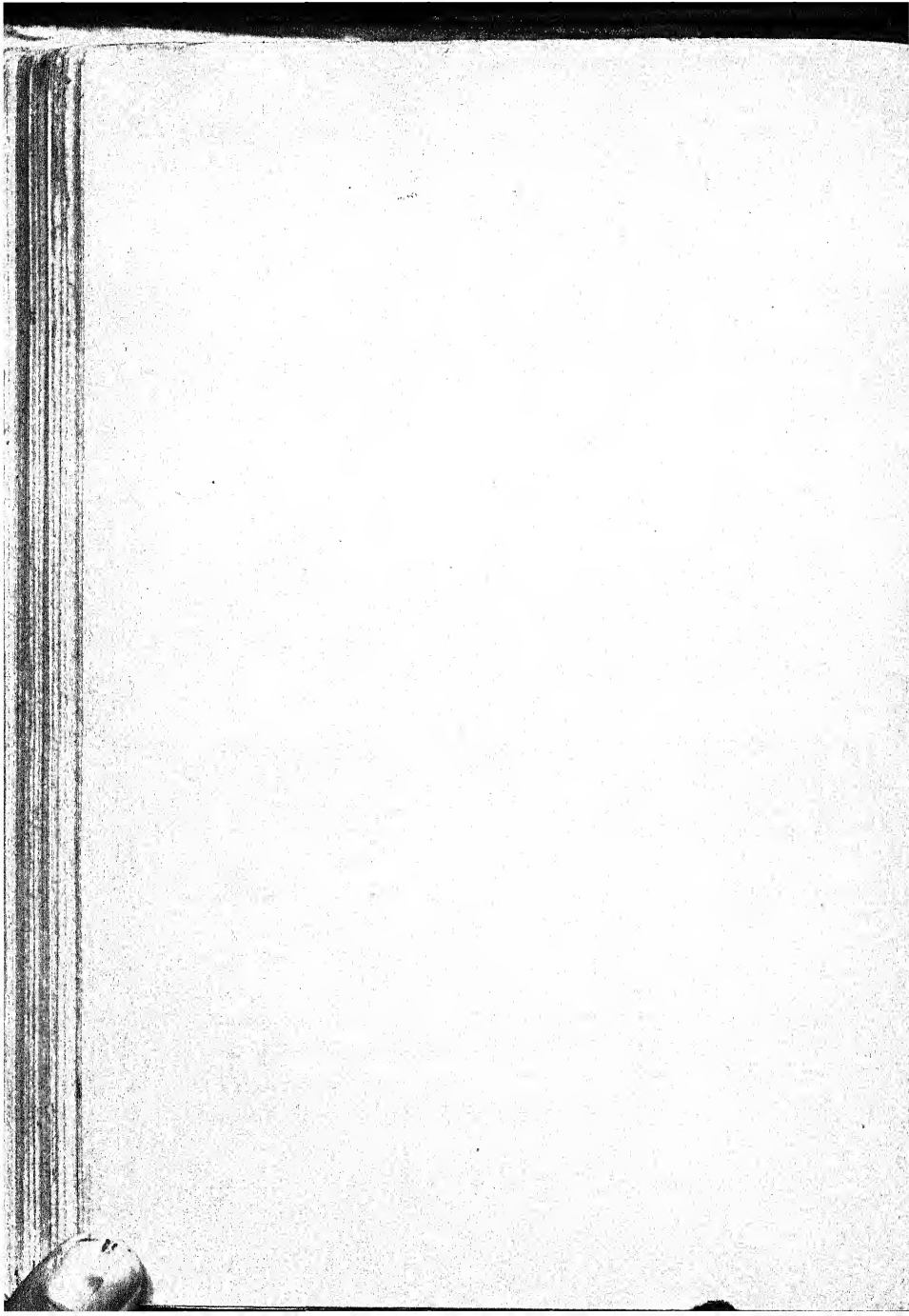
Yes, a force to be reckoned with, and it was proved in the Calcutta Congress of 1906. His fearlessness and ability contributed not a little to enliven the proceedings of the Subjects Committee that year. After the Calcutta Congress was over, he burned with a desire to carry the banner of Passive Resistance outside Bengal. He was requested by some enthusiastic young men of Madras to go on a lecturing tour in Southern India. He gladly responded to the call (he had severed his connection with the *Bande Mataram* in December 1906) and came to Madras in May 1907, after halting at a few places on the way. It was at Madras that Bepin Babu achieved the crowning oratorical triumphs of his life. For some six days, on the sands of the beach, he addressed audiences ranging from 20,000 to 30,000. It is no exaggeration to say that the speeches were such as will do credit to any man. The ability displayed therein even attracted the attention of the *London Times* and the *Spectator*. Bepin Babu intended to tour in Southern India, but the country had in the meantime been convulsed by the deportation of Messrs. Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, and he returned to Calcutta.

We now come to the crowning incident of his life—the incident which revealed the man and showed to the world the stuff of which he is made. In August of the year 1907, Babu Arabinda Ghose was indicted for sedition.

Bepin Babu was called upon to give evidence for the case. When he was installed in the dock and questioned, he declared that he considered the prosecution detrimental to the country and that therefore he had conscientious objections to take part in the case. For this, he was sentenced to simple imprisonment for six months but he gave a glorious object-lesson in Passive Resistance. Friend and foe sympathised with him and a public meeting was held at Calcutta under the presidency of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea, to give public expression to the sympathy widely felt for him. Subscriptions of over Rs. 1,000 were collected mainly by young men and sent to his wife. In prison he wrote two books on Hinduism, which have since been published. On the day that he came out of prison, enthusiastic and crowded meetings were held in various parts of the country to welcome him back. A handsome purse was presented to him by the people of Calcutta.

Soon after he came out of gaol, the country was plunged in consternation by the appearance of the bomb. Bepin Babu recognised that, under the circumstances of the country, there was no scope for his activities in India and towards the close of 1908 went to England where he has been living since. In England, he started a paper called *Swaraj* and conducted it with his usual ability. But the Government of India proscribed it and it came to an end.

A splendid speaker, a well-read scholar, an intensely religious and patriotic man, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal deserves well of India. We hope that he has many more years of useful activity before him.



NATIONAL EDUCATION

National Education has been defined by a Resolution of the last Indian National Congress as education conducted along national lines and under national control. I would, however, amend this definition a little by adding a clause towards the end. Education may be conducted along more or less national lines and may be more or less under national control and yet it may not be National Education. For instance, one of the practical injunctions in regard to the conduct of education along national lines is that the medium of instruction should be not the foreign language, but the vernacular of the people themselves. Another feature of National Education is that it should relate to the actualities of the physical and social life of the people, *viz.*, that the sciences that are taught should be based upon observations of phenomena in the natural life of the nation itself. Geography and physiography should be taught through the actual configuration and distribution of land and water, the territories of the people and upon the observation of physiographical facts in the atmosphere, in the climate, in the change of seasons, rainfall, etc., of the nation itself. These features may be found in a system of education and yet it may not be National Education. The officialised Universities in India may adopt this system of teaching science by the observation of actual facts in the physical life and surroundings of the people. Botany may be taught by the exploration of our own vegetable kingdom. Zoology may be taught by and through our own animal kingdom and Medicine may be taught through the

observation of and experiment upon tropical drugs. All these things may be done by the present officialised Universities in India and yet, I hold, it will not be National Education. Education may be in some sense under national control, that is to say, the finances of a particular national institution may be supplied by the people themselves and the management of those finances may be vested in the chosen, elected representatives of the people, and yet the education that is placed under national control may not be National Education, because the object of this education, though conducted to a certain extent along national lines and though worked practically under national control, may not aim at the realisation of the destiny of the nation, and an education that does not direct its efforts towards the realisation of the national destiny, even if it be conducted along national lines, more or less and even if it be under national control, apparently, to some extent, yet it would not be national education in the fullest and truest sense of the term. (*Cheers*). Although the grand charity in Madras known as the Pachaiyappa's Institution, so far as its finances are concerned and so far as the management of the Board is concerned, has been under national control for the past fifty years or so yet I will make bold to say that the Pachaiyappa's Institution is not as yet a National Institution in the fullest and truest sense of the term. (*Hear, hear, and cheers*). Indeed no educational institution in this country which does not absolutely sever its connection with the officialised Universities and the Educational Department of the Government can be regarded as a truly national institution in the light of the definition that I have given you. (*Cheers*). National education is education conducted along national lines, controlled by the representatives of the nation and so

controlled and conducted that it should have for its object the realisation of the national destiny.

And what is a nation? A nation is not a collection of individuals. A ship's company is not a nation, a crowd that gathers to a lecture or to witness the ascent of a balloon is not a nation. A nation is not a mere collection of individuals, a nation is an organism, it has organic life and, like all organisms, a nation has an end unto itself which is different from the end that regulates the activities of other similar organisms, other similar nations. The nationality that constitutes a nation is the individuality of a nation. Nations are composed of individuals. What constitutes one's individuality? There are peculiarities of tone, of gait, step, mannerism: these peculiarities that differentiate us on the physical plane from other men constitute, physically their individuality. And as there are little tricks of nature, inexplicable differences in mental and spiritual and moral constitution, between man and man and woman and woman, which constitute their individuality, so there are little tricks of nature that distinguish and differentiate different collections of men, which we call different nationalities. (*Cheers*). There are differences also in the physical structure of different races of men, there are also differences in their mental structure, the thought structure, for instance, of the Aryan and non-Aryan races. There are also differences between one nation and another in their social structure, in the organisation of their social life and their social economy. There are nations where the type of social organisation is military, despotic, arbitrary, where the King is a despot and a military chief. There are other social organisations where the type is not military but civic, where the type of social or political government has

always been not despotic or absolute but constitutional or limited. In National Education we shall have to follow our leading, our guidance and our own specific characteristic as a nation.

The next question is, 'Is the education that we receive, that we have been receiving for the last 150 years and more, the education that has been established in this country by the present alien Government, is that education conducted along National lines?' (*Cries of No, No, No*). Why not, because those who control and direct this education are not competent to direct it along our National lines. (*Cheers*). Even if they desire it they have not the adequate knowledge for doing it. They may translate our ancient scriptures and they may win the reputation of being superior orientalist by translating a chapter of the Ramayana, one or two *Sutras* of the Vedanta, but a study of Sanskrit grammar or translation of a few *Sutras* of the Vedanta or a few chapters of the *Nyaya* does not entitle a foreigner to get into the spirit of the consciousness of our race, and, as foreigners, having a different cast of mind, having different traditions, having had a different training, the foreign Government and those whom that foreign Government imports from its own country are utterly unfit to guide and control education in India along National lines. No man knew more intimately of India than did the late Professor Max Muller, and yet when an Indian reads the voluminous works of Max Muller, what does he find? He finds there that at every step the great orientalist has translated the words but has failed to convey the meaning. When I first read his translation of *Dhammapada*, the great Buddhist scripture, I read it comparing it with the original; and even without any intimate acquaintance with *Pali*, a man who knows a little of Sanskrit and

Prakriti, as these Prakritis are found in Sanskrit, may help, understand Pali scriptures. I was reading *Dhammapada* and I took Max Muller for help, and what did I find? On the very first page I found here one word in *Dhammapada*, which is a significant word describing the discipline of Buddhism. There is used this word *Nirudha Veerya*; I needed no translation to understand what it means—holding of the *Veerya*, *Sutra Dharma Brakma Charya*. These are all common things in our country. *Nirudha Veerya* I looked into Max Muller. What did I find? He says it means strong. Sandow is a strong man, but can the qualification of *Nirudha Veerya* be applied to Sandow? Now, this is just the sort of insight that we find into our literature, our thought, our life, our habits, our custom, our culture and our civilisation in the oriental scholars. And if Max Muller could go no further in *Nirudha Veerya* than Sandow's strength, how can you expect a raw graduate, or for the matter of that, a ripe graduate from Oxford or Cambridge coming out to India and directing Indian education along Indian National lines? No, Sir. The present Government stands incapacitated, because it is a foreign Government for directing the education of the people along National lines. And what is the sort of education that you have been receiving all these years? It has had precious little reference to your own life, to the actualities of your own National history, not even had it any reference—an attempt is being made now, only recently—it had very little reference even to your physical surroundings. You would learn Botany by British specimens and not by Indian specimens. Indian Botany is of recent growth, if it has grown at all. Even now in your books you learn words, but the things that these words signify are more or less absolutely absent

from your actual life and environments. In the days when I was a boy we read many excellent things. The smell of hay is sweet, and every Indian boy wonders why should, of all things on earth, the smell of hay be sweet. He does not know what hay is, and the teacher, at least my teacher did it, he said it was straw, and when going through a straw field in December or January, I have tried to smell the roots of dried straw to see what sweetness there was in it. Gradually the revelation came to me (*laughter*), that the sweetness was not to be found by human nose, but the Britisher, being represented by John Bull, a race of Bulls, naturally must have some perception of sweetness in straw. (*Laughter*). I read, as some of you must have read also, of the swallow, my fourteen generations upward have never seen and I believe my 14 generations down shall never see swallow, unless they go to England like me. And yet I have learnt swallow, swallow, to swallow the whole, without getting any idea whether it was a big thing or a small thing, whether it was white, brown or black, and what was its formation and what was its colour. Sometimes they give us pictures of swallow and other things, but what physiologist is there who teaches physiology to his students from physiological charts. They are helpful to a certain extent as pmonics, with a view to revive the memory of things that have not been seen in their original actualities. The education that you have been receiving all these years has been shallow and because of this fact, namely, that this education has been verbal education, it had no reference to things but words. It helped to develop our memory but never our sense or our understanding as it ought to have done. And the result is not only we have suffered in intellectual life,

but we have suffered in our ethical, our artistic and our spiritual life as well. Our character has grown on foreign tubs, not even in tubs but in orchids, our manhood has been hung up on the verandah having no roots in the actualities of our nation and our life in the past traditions of our race: we have grown like orchids—orchids grown on the verandah of European Government. That is what our education had been and the greatest pity of it is this, that it has divorced our minds, our heart, our spirit, our character, and our manhood from our national life. We have been taught to botanise the oak, to botanise the elm, to botanise the beech, to the neglect of our banyan, our mango groves, our champaka tree, to the neglect of the flora of our own country. We have been taught to investigate into the habits and customs of foreign animals and birds and this teaching has blinded our eyes to the beauties of the ornithological kingdom in India. Our birds that resound in the morning in mango groves with their thousand notes do not form any part of our intellectual life. The grass covered fields, paddy fields, the mango groves, the flowering champacks, asoka, the flowering vakula, all these things do not awaken in us any intellectual, do not create in us any intellectual quickening or emotional movement, because from our childhood onwards we have lived apart from these actualities of our life.

Open an English text book and what do you find there? Those text books are not meant for you, they are made for Europeans, English boys and they describe the surroundings in the midst of which the English boy lives and grows and therefore from his infancy onwards every English boy is placed in vital contact with his own surroundings, with his social surroundings, with his national life. Why, on account of this outlandish education,

you are divorced from our actual surroundings and your actual national life. Patriotism has suffered in India in the past on account of this divorce between education and national life. There has been patriotism in India among the educated classes of a type, I admit. In the days of my youth we also dreamt divine dreams in regard to the glory of our country. We sang also then national songs, but this patriotism of 25 years ago was an airy, fairy something absolutely unrelated to the reality of our life and surroundings and this is due, this starvation of the patriotic sentiment in India, this weakening civic aspiration in the people, this dependence upon the alien bureaucracy for the attainment of personal ambition or national advancement—all this is due entirely to the outlandish, the rootless education that we have been receiving all these years. Since sometime past open attempts have commenced to be made by the Government to impart a particular kind of education in this country, an education that creates hot-house loyalty among the people of the land. Lord Curzon started University and educational reform with a view to the cultivation of loyalty to the present Government in India. Bishop Weldon, when the University reform was under discussion in India, writing to the *London Times*, distinctly declared, and Bishop Weldon ought to know what was in the mind of his classmate, the Viceroy of India in those days, that educational reforms were needed for the cultivation of loyal sentiments among the people of the country. Lee Warner's bible has been made a text book, specially for these purposes and the recent circulars indicate the officialised system of what is the trend and tendency of education among us. This education was introduced by the English Government more than 50 years ago, specifically for

their own benefit. English education was not introduced haphazard. So far as Bengal is concerned, we know that a great controversy arose between the supporters of English education and the advocates of oriental learning before English schools and Colleges were opened. Among those who advocated the introduction of English and Western education was Lord Macaulay. There were others opposed to him who wanted to introduce the old oriental system of education. Their idea was to teach us *Ghatathwa* and *Padathwa* as I said once with a view to perpetuate our *Dasathwa* through *Ghatathwa* and *Patathwa* and once you devote yourself to *Ghatakasa* and *Pattakasa* the political *Akasa* would be free of all disturbances. The orientalists wanted to confine our intellect and our mental activities to ancient logamatrix. They wanted to keep the light of modern education and science away from this country and why, because they were afraid lest the Indian people, educated in Western science, educated in Western literature, brought up in Western history, might gradually demand to quote Lord Dufferin "to ride in the chariot of the sun" might be led to demand those free political institutions that are the most glorious heritage of Western nations. And Macaulay in reply to these forces declared that it would be a glorious day for England if the people of India educated in Western science, brought up in Western history and literature, demanded those free political institutions, for themselves in their country, which exist in the land of their rulers. (*Cheers*). And this declaration of Lord Macaulay was only an argument used against his opponents. It was not, Sir, as I read it, a declaration of original policy. Should this thing happen then we shall enjoy the supreme satisfaction of having raised a fallen nation to such and such an object of national glory, not

that we desire it to happen, but if the contingency should happen, as your orientalist say, then this will be our consolation. The consolation, the consolation, twice, will be the uplifting of a fallen nation. That is what Lord Macaulay's words meant. The policy that guided Lord Macaulay was this. He saw that the British Government in India was a despotic Government and no despotic Government can exist in any country unless it is able to secure the support of the people of that country. Even Russian despotism depends for its continuance upon the support that it has been receiving from the royal duties and from those who are dependent on the royal duties in Russia. The despotism of the unspeakable Turk, as he is called the hidden Turk, of the Sultan of Turkey, that is also an unmitigated despotism. It is supported by the Pasha. The power of the priest and the power of the aristocracy stand as a bulwark around the throne of the Sultan of Turkey protecting it from all insults from within and from without. Every student of political history knows that no despotism can exist any where unless it is able to create about itself a citadel of interest, popular interest, in the perpetuation of its own authority and the English Government in India having established itself as the supreme political authority in the country, looked about for the creation of such a citadel. It looked about and saw the native princes but they were unthinkable as a support of British rule which was established to the loss of their own power. They looked upon the middle classes, the real aristocracy of the country, the Brahman and the other higher castes. They had been, to some extent, the greatest sufferers under the preceding administrations and the British policy saw in this middle class the possibilities of a bulwark that might be raised round itself for its own protection.

English education was imparted with a view to create this bulwark. It had to be imparted, because the Government of such a large people could not be conducted by importing alien officers from their island home. Native agency had to be employed. It was essential that it should be employed and an agency had to be created, because the Government that these foreigners established in this country was their own Government and not the Government of the people themselves. The system was their own. English education had to be imparted, with a view to raise up a class of men who would be able to serve the Government. That was one object. It had to be imparted, secondly, to create a class of men whose interests would be indissolubly bound up with the interests of the Government, which would receive their living from the hands of the Government as Government servants, who would receive honour and distinction from the Government, whose temporal interest would be bound up indissolubly with the Government, and more than that, if these people are trained in European history, in English literature, not only their temporal interests but their intellectual, their moral, their ethical ideal, nay, even their civic ideal, may be bound with the perpetuation of the foreign authority in this country. Policy demanded that you should be educated in Western science and English literature, and for a long time the Government of India looked upon you as its greatest help and support. Until very recently, before a quarter of a century, even I might say, the Government in India looked upon the educated classes as those who would interpret their wishes to the people and stand between the people and the Government gaining the allegiance of the people for the Government and gaining the good offices of the

Government for the people. That was the ideal even of British statesmen in India 25 years ago. The creation of an educated aristocracy, so to say, in India was thus the aim of the Government in this country. But gradually you refused to discharge the functions which they wanted you to discharge, you claimed more than they thought you would ever claim from them. Lord Dufferin said that you wanted to ride in the chariot of the sun and then gradually when you became restive, when you became discontented, when you began, instead of helping to strengthen the authority of the Government, to place yourself over the head of the people and set up a permanent opposition to that Government, the educational policy had to be changed, and it was changed. At first gradually, at first secretly, at first insidiously and then, as your opposition became violent and open, the policy of the Government also became violent and open until in the last University Act we find the culmination of that policy whose object has been to curtail to some extent, in the name of depth of learning, an extensive cultivation of European literature and European art by our people I have been told and I believe it is true, but I speak open to correction, that Burke has been tabooed by the Calcutta University, the old books would be tabooed more and more, and in place of Burke you have Lee Warner's bible (*Laughter*). The time, therefore, has come when in the interests of the intellectual life of the nation, nay, more than that, in the interest of the nation itself, you and I should take up the charge of educating people in our own hands, so that we may direct the mind of the nation, the will of the nation, the heart of the nation, the energy of the nation, with a view to the realisation of the destiny of the nation. In the system of education that we propose to start in this country, liberal and scientific culture will

be combined with technical education. In the system of education that we have formulated already in the National Council of Education in Bengal we have sought to combine scientific and liberal education with technical training. Whatever else might be done in other countries, in India it will be suicidal to set up wholly technics independently or apart from liberal and scientific training. We are essentially, Sir, an intellectual race and we cannot sacrifice the intellectual life for the earning of bread. Man liveth not by bread alone. No, as I said the other night, neither do nations live by bread alone and National destiny could not be realised by setting up soap factories or cotton mills. Indeed, even in the interest of the economic life of the nation, liberal and scientific education is essential, because what is technical education? Technical education is that education which helps a man to produce marketable commodities by the application of trained intelligence on the knowledge of the material that he possesses. In the application of trained intelligence to the knowledge of material for the production of marketable commodity, that is technical education, the intelligence must be trained for technical education, and intelligence can only be trained by a liberal training, by a liberal culture, and knowledge of material must be gained for the purpose of technical education: and knowledge of material can only be gained by scientific education, because it is the science which gives you a knowledge of material, and technical education being the application of trained intelligence to knowledge of material for the production of marketable commodity, it is impossible to divorce this education from general, liberal and scientific culture. Therefore, in our system of National education we had combined as compulsory branches in the lower school

standards liberal and scientific education with technical training up to 12 years of age. Up to the class which an ordinary boy may get to by the time he is 12 years, we teach no technical arts. It is the period which is devoted to the cultivation of the natural intelligence of the boy, of the development of his powers of understanding, to the development of his eye and hand, the training of his senses and of the imparting of ordinary knowledge of material for the training of the senses. From the 13th to 14th—two years—this trained intelligence develops this knowledge of materially advancing and we teach him to apply this intelligence to the knowledge of material that he gains during these two periods by a specific scientific culture for the production of some marketable commodity and this goes on advancing from step to step. For instance, let us represent the degree of intelligence that a boy receives, attains when he is 14 years old, by (*a*), let us represent the knowledge of material that an average boy gets in the class where a boy of 14 may get to in our college or school by (*b*); (*a*) applied to (*b*) will produce the commodity (*c*). In the next year his intelligence grows, let us indicate the growth of this intelligence by (*a*) raised to the power of (1), his knowledge of experience as (*b*) raised to the power (1) and the commodity that he produces also (*c*) raised to power of (1). In the next year it will be (*a*) raised to the power of (2), (*b*) raised to the power of (2) and a corresponding improvement in the commodity, (*c*) raised to the power of (2) and in this way we go up to the end of our school career. When the young man goes to the National College there are three branches. One is the general liberal branch wherein he is taught language, history,

philosophy, arts. All these things are taught in one branch. There is a middle branch wherein pure science is taught. There is a third branch wherein higher technical studies are encouraged and held for the production of higher kinds of materials and commodities. Those who have not to earn a living, sons of rich men, men with independence, they may go in for pure literary or humanitarian studies. Those who, though not rich, desire to devote themselves to literary work may go into that and devote themselves exclusively to the cultivation of the arts. In this department we shall train up orators, historians, philosophers, poets, journalists, painters, sculptors, artists. Then in the middle branch of science pure, our aim shall be to produce men of science who shall devote themselves to original scientific investigation, men of the type of Jagadees Chandra Bhose, or Prapulla Chander Ray and in the third branch there will be men who will apply the principles of science as attained by the researches of the scientific student and savants for the production of ordinary commodity. This, Sir, briefly is the sketch of the system of National education that we propose to import in our National Schools and Colleges in Bengal. We have already a number of schools, one in Rungpur, one in Dinajpur, one in in Dacca, two in the Mymensingh District, two in Comilla District, one in Jalpaigiri and a school and College in Calcutta. The income from endowed funds of the National Council of which I have the honor to be a member is just now Rs. 60,000. It is not a large sum for a National University, but we hope in course of time, as we are able to prove by the results the superiority of the education that we seek to impart to our youth, funds will be forthcoming.

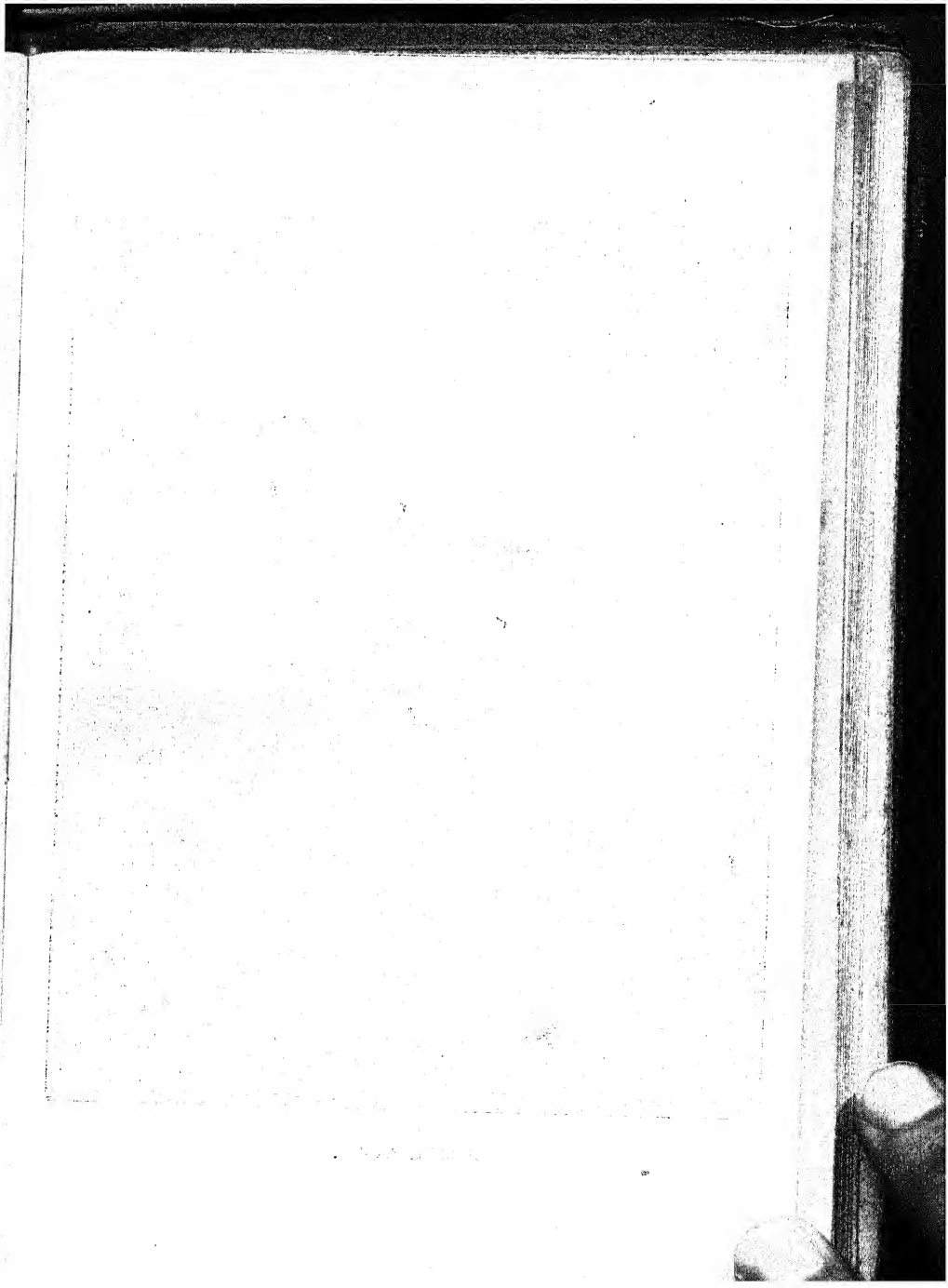
We have got now from 2,500 to 3,000 students reading in our different colleges and schools. (*Cheers.*) It is not a large number and yet we are not disheartened, because we are working against great odds. This present system of education, officialised education, has created a hankering in the people for the Government service and the so-called learned profession; and the education that we offer can hold out no temptations in those lines. (*Hear, hear and cheers.*) Our certificates of degrees will not help any one to get into the Government service. (*Cheers.*) I shall be sorry, Sir, if at any time it is regarded as a passport of Government service until the Government becomes our own. (*Cheers.*) We may teach law, we have not started any legal faculty as yet, but our legal degrees will not entitle one to plead before these foreign law Courts. (*Cheers.*) We are working against great odds, but still we are thankful for these 3,000 students. There were not as many when they first started English education in this country and I believe, Sir, that in proportion as the repressive measures of the present Government advance and prosecution is started against the student population and an attempt is made to stifle their new-born love for the motherland (*cheers*), in proportion as this is done, in proportion as an alternative that the officialised institutions will place before the people, becomes this, either to serve the motherland (*cheers*) or to attain a livelihood by following service of the foreign Government, in proportion as this is done, in that proportion, I believe with the help of God, the enthusiasm for national education will increase (shouts of *Bande Mataram*) and both guardians and boys, as they are doing in Bengal, will in every part of India consider it their sacred duty to give their go-by to the officialised educational institutions and the chances of earning a livelihood by slaving under this Government and take

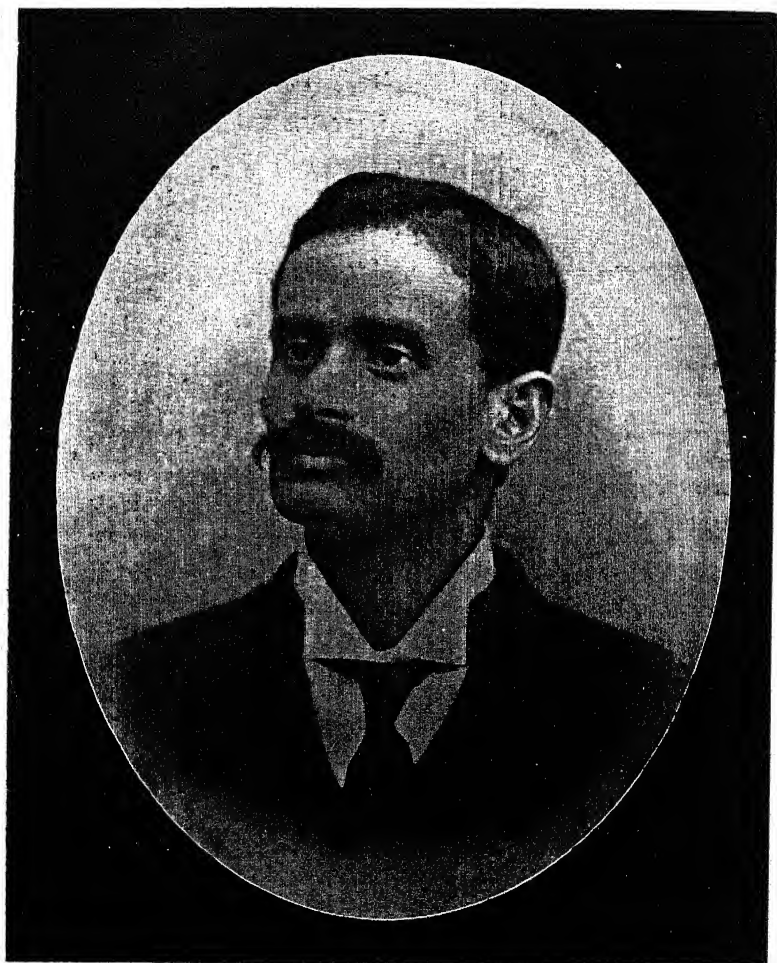
to national education (*cheers*): and this much I can assure you, my dear friends, that whoever will come to our schools and colleges will have a greater chance of earning a decent livelihood than what is offered by the present officialised University. (*Cheers.*) How many of those, I say, who are sent to school by their parents with a view to pass their examinations, and passing their examinations to get into some honourable post under the Government, how many, what percentage of those do attain their goal? (A voice 5 per cent.) Yes. Out of every 100, five or six at the utmost (*cries of yes, yes.*) A number fall off at Matriculation and they cannot go further; a number fall off at the F. A. and they cannot go to the B.A.; again a number fall off at the Law degree and they cannot pass and it is just like the *Mahaprayana* of the Pandavas and ultimately the Yudhishtira reaches the position of a Deputy Magistrate. That is, what becomes and the boy that falls upon the way, the young man that falls off at the Metric, at the F. A., the young man that is expelled from the gate of the B.A., what are they worth? What can they earn? (A voice Rs. 7-8-0; another Rs. 10) (*Laughter and cheers*). In Madras a B. A., as I understand, earns on an average Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 a month (*Cries of shame and not even that*). I am glad to learn that it is true, because if you realise the truth of it, the temptation to follow this University will not be so strong as it otherwise might have been and what we can offer for you in our education you must have seen from this brief sketch that I have given you, to be all prizes no blanks. (*Cheers*). Ours will not be merely an examining body. We, to some extent, are an examining body, but it is due to an example set by the University. If we are left to ourselves, we would not be an examining body, but we would be a teaching body (*hear,*

hear) ; and gradually I hope that these Universities will rather be filled to their utmost capacity by the sons of Tahsildars and Deputy Magistrates and other Government servants (*laughter and cheers*), the general population leaving it altogether. When that day comes, as I hope it will, we shall be able also to considerably modify our present examination system in the National University. But, as I said, our system offers all prizes and no blanks ; because the boy that leaves our National Schools at the age of 14 is good for doing something, perhaps he can turn out some work as a carpenter, as a blacksmith, as a goldsmith, as a weaver, something he can turn his hand to ; we take care to teach every boy that which he is best fitted to learn, we teach every boy something, be he the son of a Zemindar or a peasant. Compulsory technical education in the school department (*hear, hear*) he must have, if not for earning bread, at least as a part of the general liberal culture, because making of things is regarded now by moderate pedagogues in America and other places as part of the liberal education of every boy. Therefore, whoever goes out of school will have learnt something from us by which he can earn something, say 15 to 20 if he cannot earn more, but will have the consolation, the supreme satisfaction of feeling that he is a free man and independent man. If he cannot provide himself and his family with luxurious food he will at least have the satisfaction of dining upon his rice and *rasam or charu*, but consistently with the preservation of his self-respect. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). This, then, is the sort of education that we have schemed out in our National University. This is the ideal of the realisation of the National destiny ; and my last word to you is this. Unless you accept this ideal of National education and not only accept it intellectually but also make a strong

resolution, the rich to lay out their money, those who have not money to place their boys and their youths for tuition in these schools and the general public to offer the best that they can towards the furtherance of the object, unless you do it, the time is come when all this new spirit will fail to attain its purpose, because of the repressive measures that are being introduced in the Educational Department of India by that Government. (*Cries of shame*). The recent circular—I do not know what effect it will have upon the conscience and consciousness of the people in Madras. (*Cries of "It will have."*) Need I say that henceforth it will not be possible not only for our school-boys, but it will be difficult, if not impossible, for our teachers and professors and the educated community in general, to participate in the present National upheaval. Why, Sir, why should politics be *tabooed* from our Universities and our schools? Do they do it in England? (*Cries of no, no.*) Is politics condemned even in the public schools of England? In the Universities do they not discuss patriotic and academical problems, even actually deal with the burning political questions of the day? In the Oxford and Cambridge unions they discuss politics and in the schools they bring up by brigades. Do they not sing the National Anthem in the public schools in England, *Rule Britannia*, Britannia rules the waves, Britons shall never be slaves, is it *tabooed* in any public school in England, and if not, how can you say that the singing of *Bande Mataram* is not consistent with the advancement of real culture and education among the people of this country. (Shouts of *Bande Mataram*). The Principal of a College in Madras, it is reported, wanted to amend the objects of an Young Men's Association which declared that the cultivation of the

patriotic sentiment was its end and aim and he wanted to amend it. Cultivation of the patriotic sentiment consistently with loyalty to the present Government, would it be impossible, would it be thought of, or would it be dreamt in any part of England? (*Cries of no, no*). Patriotism is an absolute virtue and if it is to be limited by any consideration it is to be limited by a consideration of universal humanity and by no other consideration; patriotic sentiment must be cultivated consistently with the cultivation of love for universal humanity. That is what one can understand. Therefore it seems to me, Sir, that this new circular and the repressive measures that are presaged in this circular, all these will either kill National Education, not in every Province, but in some Provinces. (*Cries of "Not in Madras."*) I thank you, but it will not, I hope, it will not be able to kill it; on the contrary, it seems to me that this circular of the Government of India will help the growth of National education (*cheers*), and I hope and trust the new patriotism and public spirit of Madras (shouts of *Bande Mataram*) will give a practical reply to this circular by organising now and at once a National College and School here. (Shouts of *Bande Mataram*.) If this is done you will solve the problem of education in India such as it has not as yet been solved by the British controlled Universities and officialised agencies of public instruction in this country. (Loud shouts of *Bande Mataram* and prolonged cheers.)





ABDUL RASUL.

ABDUL RASUL

The dream of Indian unity is a dream cherished by every sincere well-wisher of this country. Wherever we come across a Muhammadan seeing eye to eye with his brother Hindu in matters concerning the country's weal, the heart of every true patriot ought to be gladdened. As one of the most enlightened and highly cultured of such Muhammadans, we give the following short sketch of the life of Mr. A. Rasul.

Moulvi Abdul Rasul was born in the month of April, 1872. His father, Moulvi Golam Rasul was a Zemindar of Guniank in the Tipperah District. While quite young, Mr. Rasul lost his father and was thrown on the sole care and guardianship of his mother. The family was removed to Kishoregunge where he was sent for instruction to a village school. Later on, he joined the Government School at Dacca and from there passed his Entrance examination in 1888. He continued his studies in the first year class for a few months, when his mother was advised to send him to England for education. The advice was ultimately acted upon and Abdul Rasul, then barely 17, left for Liverpool in 1889. He studied at Liverpool for a few years, with a view to going up for the Matriculation examination. He then went to London where he joined the King's College. He thence went to Oxford and matriculated in 1892. He took his B. A. degree in 1896 from St. John's College. He also took the M. A. degree in 1898. In the same year he was called to the Bar from Middle Temple and took the B. C. L. degree in the same year, the first Bengalee, be it noted, to take that degree. Before

coming out to India, he married an English lady with the express permission of his mother. While, in England, Mr. Rasul became acquainted with our illustrious countryman, Babu Arabinda Ghose. He came out to India towards the close of 1898.

He was enrolled as a barrister of the Calcutta High Court in 1899. For some time, fortune did not smile on him but prospects soon brightened and he now commands a fairly wide practice on the appellate side of the High Court. He was the head examiner in English, for the Calcutta Entrance examination from 1899 to 1902 and was also an examiner for the Calcutta B. L. examination.

The country's interests occupy his time, quite as much as his profession. He has been actively trying to check polygamy among his co-religionists and is also an ardent friend of the Hindu Social Reform Movement. He has been endeavouring to bring Mussalmans into line with Hindus, in matters political and to undermine every thing that stands in the way of the two communities standing shoulder to shoulder in the country's cause. When the partition of Bengal was proclaimed, he resolutely opposed it as being detrimental to the interests of Hindu and Muhammadan alike.

Of the Swadeshi movement, he has been a whole-hearted supporter and has done much to popularise it among his co-religionists. Not a single public meeting has, in recent times, been held in Bengal in which he has not taken a prominent part. His ability and patriotism were recognised, when he was invited to preside over the New Historic Bengal Provincial Conference held at Barisal. His address on that occasion, was a masterly one and elicited much public admiration.

In private life, he is a perfect gentleman, in the fullest sense of the term is characterised by a rare amiability. His wife is devoted to him with a passionate devotion and also loves the land which her husband loves so well.

Mr. Abdul Rasul is young and in the full vigour of his powers. He will be an invaluable asset in the future public life of the country. May he live long and may Muhammadans of his type endlessly multiply !

BARISAL CONFERENCE

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

FELLOW DELEGATES,—I thank you most heartily for the great, the very great honour which you have conferred upon me by electing me to preside over your deliberations of this year. I appreciate the honour, all the more as I am the first Bengal Mahomedan in whom such great confidence has been placed and upon whom such high distinction has been conferred by the people of United Bengal. No honour can be greater, no distinction higher than that which comes spontaneously from the heart of a great people. I feel the proudest moment of my life has come, when I find myself seated here as the President of our National Assembly.

Since this great assembly met last year at Mymensingh one year has passed.—But what a year—*annus mirabilis*—it has been for us the people of Bengal. It has been a year in which we have seen how an alien bureaucracy has lorded it over patriotism, how it has trampled upon the cherished rights and privileges of the people. It has been a year in which we have seen how deeply sensible a nation may become of the calamities that may be brought upon it by foreign domination and also what a nation can do when it is united.

Both before and after the last Conference, the whole nation, in a trembling voice, was asking the question “Are we really going to be divided?” We know in what rude and spiteful manner that question has been answered by Lord Curzon. We know he was determined to divide

us, but we never dreamt of the manner in which he was to do it. The quarrel over the Indian Army question had been going on for some time. Lord Curzon, in his usual supercilious manner, looked upon Mr. Brodrick as one of the members of the Ministry of Incompetents and considered the fight between Mr. Brodrick and himself as that between a pigmy and a giant, and that the former would be bound to give in. He thought he had simply to threaten resignation, then all the Incompetents at home would go down on their knees before him, the only clever and intelligent member and the only hope of the Conservative party, and beg of him not to leave the helm of the Indian Empire which without him would go wrong, and that they would, in short, submit to anything he dictated to them. But Lord Curzon was after all not infallible. He was sadly mistaken. He found that in his estimate of self he was wrong. His resignation was accepted with pleasure. To his consternation and mortification the Incompetents did not go down on their knees, but on the contrary were defiant and had already got his successor ready. After such a great humiliation the general opinion, both Indian and European, was that Lord Curzon would not think of carrying his partition scheme into effect, and his successor would be more considerate and not likely to override the wishes of the people. His resignation under the peculiar circumstances of the case was tantamount to a dismissal. Oh, what a fall! He was vanquished but "his doom reserved him to more wrath. What though the Viceroyalty was lost! All was not lost! The unconquerable will, the study of revenge, immortal hate for the Bengalis was not lost." Knowing what a half-hearted support Mr. Brodrick had given to his Partition Scheme, Lord Curzon was afraid that his successor might never carry it through, so he

must do it himself, before leaving India. "Stirred up with envy and revenge," he was *racking* his brain as to how soon he could bring about the ruin of the Bengali people. It did not take him long. The date of the partition was soon announced; he went through the farce of passing a bill through the Supreme Council at Simla in the absence of the Indian members and the Partition was proclaimed on the 16th October, 1905, in spite of and in the teeth of the opposition of the whole nation. He knew that unless he did this in great haste, his long cherished object of breaking up the unity of Bengal would be lost for ever. Think of the audacity of the man, who did not hesitate to defy the authority of the Parliament to whom the Secretary of State had given a solemn pledge that nothing would be done till all the papers regarding the Partition Scheme were laid on the table of the House. The country was ringing with shouts of protest from one end to the other when on being asked by the Secretary of State to postpone the partition till Parliament had an opportunity of considering the matter, he informed the Secretary that the so-called agitation was subsiding. If a man in the position of a Viceroy representing the King-Emperor could be guilty of such misrepresentation of the true state of things, he was capable of doing any thing. This is another instance of how some Englishmen in spite of their education, birth and position in life, after crossing the English Channel, lose their sense of justice and propriety and conscience in their dealings with other races whom they consider inferior to them.

What made Lord Curzon so bitter against the people of Bengal? Being pedantic and a great admirer of his own abilities, he thought he was perfect, and like a constitutional monarch never did wrong. Coming out as the Viceroy of India he expected admiration from all quarters

as a great man of letters and a great statesman, and adverse criticism he never expected. He knew very little about Indian character. He knew nothing about Bengal and its people beyond what he had read about them in essays or scurrilous reports of the special correspondents of some rabid journals. But he soon discovered that in education and intelligence at any rate the despised Bengal were quite equal if not superior to the people of his own race. That a subject race should be in any way equal to the ruling race upset his equilibrium. It was in Bengal that his unpopular measures were most severely criticised. It was here he discovered that the press was most powerful and that Calcutta was politically nearly as strong as London. He knew what Bengal said to-day the rest of India would say to-morrow. Lord Curzon got alarmed at the rapidity with which the people of Bengal were progressing politically. It dawned upon him that unless the Bengalis were curbed, unless their alarmingly increasing political power was crushed, unless the growing unity between the Hindus and Mahomedans was nipped in the bud, the British bureaucratic rule in India would be at an end. So he was determined, come what may, to cleave Bengal in twain. Well, after all, let us congratulate ourselves that Lord Curzon considered that in the Bengali he found a foeman worthy of his steel.

It was not for administrative purposes nor was it for the purpose of relieving the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal that Bengal had been divided into two provinces; but it was simply to wreak Lord Curzon's vengeance on the too harmless and law-abiding people of Bengal that they had been separated from their kith and kin and placed under two different Governments whose chief object will be to aim death blows at the solidarity and homogeneity of the entire Bengali nation by introducing

different laws through their different legislatures. This is not our opinion alone, but it is shared by many fair-minded Anglo-Indians, both official and non-official. If partition was at all necessary for administrative purposes which we by no means admit, there were several alternative schemes which would have at once relieved the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and left the Bengali-speaking people intact.

The nation has unanimously asked to be governed by a Governor and Council. The advantage of such a Government is that we should get an experienced and impartial statesman to be Governor who is not blinded by the prejudices and idiosyncrasies common to almost all the members of the Civil Service. How thankful the whole nation is to His Excellency Lord Minto for the recent high appointments to natives of India showing that he has not been guided by any considerations of race. But if the Bengali-speaking people were to remain undisturbed under any redistribution scheme, then Lord Curzon's object of destroying the political ascendancy of Bengal would have been frustrated. The Civil Service acquiesced in it because the creation of a new Province always brings into prominence several of its members who would otherwise remain in obscurity. One of the reasons given for the partition was that the Lieutenant-Governor could not find time to visit all the districts under his administration. It is well-known what the visit of the Lieutenant-Governor means. Can anyone honestly say that instead of doing harm it does any good to the people or bring efficiency to the administration? When the Lieutenant-Governor's visit is announced, a Reception Committee is formed, subscriptions are practically extorted from the land-owners and other wealthy citizens

who unfortunately cannot refuse to pay for fear of having their names put down on the disloyal list. If they have not the money, they must borrow it on mortgaging their property.

Large sums must be raised befitting the occasion for fire-works, bands, and triumphal arches. The bands announce the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor who holds a Durbar, shakes hands with some of the local magnates, smiles on others, visits the court premises, the jail and the local schools or Madrassas and then leaves the place. The Lieutenant-Governor with his suite travels by special trains or in his luxuriously fitted boat ; such visits are pleasure trips to him at the expense of the country : but what benefit the people derive from them I for myself cannot comprehend. To me the whole thing is a farce, waste of public money and time and harassments of Local Zemindars, some of whom are already contemplating selling their property and leaving the districts amongst other reasons to avoid these so-called voluntary contributions.

If such visits are going to be frequent as a result of the partition then they will develop into veritable visitations. This is one of the innumerable boons which the partition is going to confer on the people.

Gentlemen, now that the Government, disregarding the sentiment, the prayer and the universal protests of the people have so cruelly dismembered our beloved motherland, what is our duty to her now ?

Our duty is never to recognise this partition as final and always to consider ourselves united as we were before the memorable 16th October, 1905, and we have already shown it by coming to this Conference at Barisal from all parts of Bengal as we used to do before the

partition. This Conference will discuss as heretofore all questions affecting the interest and welfare of United Bengal, and if the Government were to divide Bengal into twenty different parts, the result, I hope, would be just the same. We are determined to remain one indivisible nation and nothing on earth can separate us.

On the 16th October last we took a solemn vow in solemn form never to acknowledge this partition of our province but ever to remain one and united.

If we are true sons of mother Bengal, if we are not to be traitors, if we are not to sell our birth-right for official favour, we shall fearlessly adhere to our vow like men, and if our efforts fail we shall bequeath it as a legacy to our children.

Undone the partition is sure to be. It is only a question of time. Our case is so strong and so unanswerable that nothing is wanted to insure its complete success but resolute perseverance and disinterested action on the part all Bengalis, whether Hindu, Mahomedan or Christian.

We must continue our agitation with renewed vigour and redoubled energy always remembering that we have nobody to support us and that we must rely entirely on our own efforts. Some non-official Anglo-Indians here did promise to help us in this matter, but for fear of incurring the wrath of the stonger party, *viz.*, the Government, they deserted the weaker one, *viz.*, the people.

We undoubtedly did expect a great deal of support from the Liberal Party in England, specially from Mr. Morley—"Honest John" as he is called, but we have been bitterly disappointed. When we could not get any relief from one of the most honest and large hearted men

like Mr. Morley it is futile to expect, anything from any living English statesman.

It is a great mistake on our part to put any reliance on either of the two English parties. As far as India is concerned, it makes very little difference whether the Liberals or Tories are in power, because they are equally ignorant about India and equally indifferent as to Indian affairs. India must be kept outside party politics and being an Asiatic country must be ruled with a rod of iron. This is the cant in vogue in England now-a-days and this is the principle on which both parties act. They like to brag about India as the brightest jewel in the British Crown but turn a deaf ear to the grievances of the millions in the country the possession of which has given the title of Emperor to the King of the British Isles. All honour to those few kindhearted men in the Liberal Party who do take a great deal of interest in India and are trying their best to help us in every possible way, but unfortunately for us they simply cry in the wilderness. The bulk of the Liberals are just as indifferent as the Tories. Liberalism of the days of Cobden and Bright is gone for ever, spurious imperialism has taken its place and dominates England now.

The English people are now divided into Liberal Imperialists and Tory Imperialists. The former think now-a-days more of the expansion of the Empire, and trade than of those lofty principles for which English Liberalism was once famous all over the world. The English conscience is more elastic and pliable now than heretofore, but for which no war in South Africa or the inhuman treatment to the Indians there would have been possible.

The Liberal Party, like the Conservative Party, mainly consists of the middle class people in England. India is a happy hunting-ground for their sons. Young men for all the higher public services in India, both Military and Civil, are recruited from this class every year.

It is self-interest which prevents them from making any concessions to India, lest they in any way contribute to the diminution of the bureaucratic power in India, the fall of which means the loss of provision for their sons. Therefore they will not interfere with the Government of India even when it is necessary to do so for the sake of justice.

Owing to this attitude on the part of the Liberal Party in the past, a large portion of our countrymen are reluctant to look to it or the Government of India for sympathy or support and insist upon self-help and self-reliance. I do not think, there can be two opinions as to the fact that if we want to rise as a nation we must principally depend upon ourselves and on our own efforts, but at the same time we ought to be practical politicians and not political dreamers and philosophers. We know that there are some very good, honest and justice-loving Englishmen in the Liberal Party, who are always ready and willing to help us in our aspirations. Now, to my mind, it will not be inconsistent with our idea of self-help and self-reliance to take advantage of their help or even to petition the Government here, when we have a sympathetic Viceroy at its head, if we honestly believe that by doing so we shall further the interests of our country. But I do consider it derogatory to our national pride and honour to petition the Government for help on any and every occasion as we have sometimes done in the past. We have learned in our younger days

that "Help from without is often enfeebling in its effect, but help from within invariably invigorates." Whatever is done for men or classes to a certain extent takes away the stimulus and necessity of doing for themselves.

We must study self-help, self-sacrifice, self-reliance and devotion to our motherland. When we have accomplished that we shall be in a position to do all. Remember the word "Bushido" which has made Japan what she is now. Defeat of the Japanese at Kagasima, which was bombarded and destroyed by the English in 1863, was the cause of the great naval victory which Admiral Togo won for Japan last year in the great battle of the sea of Japan. The disaster at Kagasima was really a blessing in disguise for the Japanese. It opened their eyes to the fact that they, as a nation, had great responsibilities and that if they were to exist as a nation they must give up their internecine quarrels, and sink all private differences and unite for the sole purpose of improving the condition of their country and successfully resisting any foreign aggression. Since 1863, they have turned their attention to the scientific and industrial progress of their country. They have sent their young men to Europe and America to learn what those countries could teach them in different branches of science and art. They were determined to raise a strong army and a powerful navy and they have done so and it is well known now how in their struggle with Russia their military and naval forces acquitted themselves. A Japanese gentleman said to a European gentleman during the Russo-Japanese war that before that gigantic struggle Japan despite her progress in art and civilization was looked upon by Europe and America as a barbarous Asiatic power but now that she has been able to kill thousands of Europeans in the war,

she is unanimously recognised as one of the great civilised powers.

Lord Curzon's malignant attempt at the destruction of the unity of Bengal in 1905, though a great calamity, ought to be looked upon by us as a great blessing in disguise.

What we could not have accomplished in fifty or one hundred years, that great disaster, the Partition of Bengal, has done for us in six months.

Its first fruits have been the great national movement known as the Swadeshi movement. It is the Partition which has brought it about. It is no longer confined to Bengal, but has spread far and wide over India. That Swadeshi movement, though a bugbear to our rulers, is nothing but one's sincere devotion to one's country, one's desire to serve her in every possible way. There are various ways in which an independent people can serve their country, as for instance Japan has done, but the sphere within which a people under foreign domination can move is very limited.

We cannot enter the military service nor have we any voice in the shaping of the military policy of the country. Whether the forces that we have are sufficient for the defence, or are in excess of the needs of the country, we the people of the country cannot decide. We pay taxes but we have no control or power over the expenditure for the public needs of the country.

In these matters whether the country is to progress or to retrograde depends upon the sweet will of our rulers. But as regards the economic condition of the country, at any rate, whether the country is to progress or to retrograde depends upon ourselves. What articles we should use and what articles we should discard, it is for us to decide. In this matter, we Indians can serve ou t

country by resuscitating those industries which are already dead, reviving those that are dying, improving those that we already have, establishing new ones, using the products of our own country and eschewing the foreign ones. We have resolved to do so. This resolution has given rise to what is known by the name of the Swadeshi movement. The movement is simplicity itself. Its primary object is to promote the industrial development of the country. Time was when ours was a great cotton manufacturing country, when our muslins were the pride of European princesses, when instead of importing, as we do now to our shame, we used to export most extensively our cotton manufactures and supply the needs of various countries. All this we have lost through our wilful neglect. Our so-called education has made us hanker after everything foreign and discard almost everything made in our own country till we have carried this mania to such an extent that we have driven our manufactures entirely out of the market and facilitated the import of foreign articles which in the case of cotton manufactures have increased by leaps and bounds. In fact we have ourselves killed our own industries.

Now the people have found out their folly and want to repent, and by way of doing penance, young and old, rich and poor, prince and peasant, have taken vows to buy and use Swadeshi things—things made in their own country—with the sole object of advancing the industrial development of their country. This attitude of our people has naturally had an appreciable effect upon the pockets of the countrymen of our bureaucrats. But why it should be confounded with disaffection is beyond our comprehension. It is a wonder to us that the Government, despite its pretensions as to its being in favour of the scientific and industrial advancement of the country,

should look upon this Swadeshi movement as seditious. From the measures which the Government of the new Province has adopted for its repression, the natural inference is that our rulers want to protect the interests of their countrymen at the expense of those of ours.

The success of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal has been to a great extent due to the efforts and work of our undergraduates, graduates and other young men, who, being animated by the enthusiasm created by this movement, sometimes go about singing patriotic songs such as "Bande Mataram," which has given great offence to our rulers. As far as I know, singing patriotic songs has never been considered an offence in any country before ; but, in our country, the word of our rulers is required to be considered law and must be obeyed.

In order to deprive the Swadeshi movement of the great support given to it by these young men, officers of the Government at once issued circulars prohibiting under penalty all students from joining political meetings. I do not know whether Sir Bamfylde Fuller is a University man or not ; but I have some experience of University life, and I have never heard that it was a crime for graduates and undergraduates to attend political meetings. But we must not forget that this is a new *regime* altogether. We may have a new circular before long. These circulars have been declared by one of the greatest English lawyers to be absolutely illegal ; but they have not yet been withdrawn ; and under their authority, young and inexperienced Inspectors of Schools forgetting the traditions of their Universities, have been playing pranks with the students and their teachers. These foolish and arbitrary methods only incited the people to carry on the Swadeshi propaganda with greater zeal and energy. The

panic at Manchester and the Government's determination to suppress the movements at any cost being simultaneous, naturally led the people to believe that the object of the Government in putting it down was simply to further the interests of the English manufacturers.

In connection with the Swadeshi movement, Barisal must take the place of honour. She has suffered for the faith in the cause more than any other place. Her sons have been the first in obtaining the crown of martyrdom.

Taking advantage of petty quarrels and absolutely unfounded rumours about European ladies being ill-treated and insulted at Barisal, the Government sent the Goorkha Police to the town and posted punitive Police in two of its villages. We have heard of little boys being prosecuted for singing "Bande Mataram," and of respectable citizens being belaboured by the Goorkhas at Barisal and by the Assam Police at Serajunge, and these will remain for ever a bitter memory. The introduction of the Goorkhas and the reign of terror that prevailed at Barisal will not be a proud record of British rule in India.

The Government is sadly mistaken if it thinks it can terrorise the people in this way. The people do not get so easily frightened now-a-days. They have learnt better.

It was here, at Barisal, that the respected leaders of the people were insulted by the Governor of the Province. Perhaps he thought that by thus treating them he would lower them in the estimation of the people. He was wrong in so thinking. These men on Board his own steamer were his guests, and it is regrettable that he should have forgotten the ordinary courtesies as between one man and another under those circumstances. These men, however, have risen in public esteem and I on your

behalf tender them our best homage. Other places, like Rungpur and Mymensing, have suffered and are still suffering and will suffer for their patriotism and devotion to the Swadeshi movement.

But repression can never extinguish a true cause though it may temporarily retard its progress. The Swadeshi movement is a true and holy cause. Though its primary object is to foster the industrial and scientific advancement of the country, it has awakened in India a new sense of national consciousness and unity. It has united the rich and poor, the educated and the uneducated. It has kindled the spirit of self-reliance and self-sacrifice, which the people have taken vows to uphold. If our repentance is genuine, if we are determined to do penance for the sins we have committed in the past by having too long neglected our motherland, we can never forsake and can never be untrue to this great national movement.

I cannot understand some people who advocate the cause of the Swadeshi movement but condemn "boycotting." This is an economic question. One must naturally follow the other. The word "boycott" may be offensive to some ears, but the success of the Swadeshi movement means the abstention from or "boycotting of foreign goods." If we give preference to articles made in our own country and reject those made in foreign countries, this means boycotting the foreign articles. Why should it give offence to the Government or any body? Surely, in our own houses at least we are our own masters, and can choose what articles to buy and what to reject.

We are not an independent nation; we have no legislature of our own. We cannot by legislation keep foreign articles out of the market by building up tariff walls as Europe and America are doing. England has

done the same. When cotton was first manufactured in England, a succession of statutes were passed, prohibiting the wear of imported cottons in order to foster the nascent industry. The only way by which we can protect our own industries is by eschewing or boycotting foreign goods.

Now about the boycotting of British goods in particular, Gentlemen, I am entirely in favour of it. The whole nation has in no uncertain voice petitioned the Government to annul the Partition. We have implored the interposition of the British people to redress our grievances, but all in vain. Our petitions have been slighted and the British people have turned a deaf ear to our grievances.

Not very long ago Macedonia and the tiny island of Crete made the whole of Europe listen to their grievances, and yet we, eighty millions of people, cannot make our grievances heard by one power.

The only thing that lies in our power is to keep up a vigorous "boycott" of British goods. If we can only continue it for a few years, our grievances will then force themselves upon the unwilling ears of the British people. It will at the same time give such an impetus to the industries, which are springing up everywhere, for we have done wonders in Bengal in the course of ten months as far as weaving industry is concerned, that in the words of a writer in the *New Age*, the greatest curse under which India groans—the drainage of millions of pounds annually from our shores—will perceptibly diminish.

The permanence of the success of this national movement depends upon the education of the masses. This is the most important thing in the constitution of a nation, without which no nation can prosper. The cause

of our lagging behind other nations in the race of progress is our want of education. It is a reflection on the British in India that what it could not accomplish in the field of education in 150 years the Japanese have done for Japan within less than 40 years.

Whatever confidence there was in the Government with regard to its education policy has disappeared since the passing of the Universities Act and the issuing of the Pedler Circular. The question of education therefore must be taken up by the people without further delay.

A right beginning has been made by the inauguration of the National Council of Education. The thanks of the nation are due to two very young donors, *viz.*, Babu Brojo Kishore Roy Chaudhuri of Gouripur and Babu Subodh Chandra Mullick of Calcutta, for their munificent gifts. The National Council will have two departments—one literary and the other scientific and technical. The object is to impart education both literary and technical on National lines as cheaply as possible. Amongst other things the Council, if well supported,—and I have not the slightest doubt that it will be well supported by the nation,—will establish industrial and technical schools all over the country to teach our youth how to make with small capital the necessities of life which we now import from foreign countries. We must make the National Council of Education an institution worthy of the name of Bengal. The whole of India is looking forward to our making it a success. It is a gigantic undertaking. Gentlemen, you must remember that the six lakhs of rupees which we have got from the two generous donors, very handsome gifts though they be, are like drops in the ocean. In order to have a well-equipped University or Institution, we require something like a crore of rupees and what is a crore of rupees to

a nation of 80 millions of people. When England alone can have 7 or 8 Universities, which are all supported by private donations, it will be a disgrace to us if we cannot support one University which will educate us in all different branches of art and science that we require for our purpose here.

Of course it is not possible to secure such a large sum of money at once, but if we one and all contribute our mites to its funds, in the course of a very few years, it will amount to a very respectable sum.

Let us, therefore, support this National Council of Education with all our heart so that we may in a short time raise it to the status of a full-fledged University, which by imparting education on National lines will make men of us. By National lines we mean among other things inspiring students with a genuine love for and a real desire to serve their country. Without such education our leaders, in fact, have created a situation from which they find it difficult to extricate themselves.

They have now become indifferent to everything that vitally concerns them. They are a mass of inaction, they are politically dead. How has it been brought about? To my mind it has been brought about by their so-called leaders. These, leaders in order to curry favour with the Government and thereby serve their own interests, have entirely disregarded those of the community and told the latter that by the dispensation of Providence they have been placed under a benign and perfect Government and that it would be impolitic on their part to concern themselves with the politics of the country. Whatever the Government condescends to give them they ought to receive with gratitude. A subject race has no rights and privileges, whatever they get from the Government they get

as a favour. Their only duty is to pay taxes and all other matters concerning their interests and welfare should be left to the superior judgment of the Government. If they were to interfere with the infallible judgment of the Government, they would suffer in pocket by not getting into Government service. This doctrine, the wisdom of which they have never challenged but which has been blindly followed by them, has led them to where they are now. I do not know whether we, Mahomedans, have reached the lowest stage of degradation or not, but as far as I can see the present stage is low enough. It is difficult to know if there is any sphere of life in which we do not meet with disgrace and humiliation.

If we had exercised our own judgment and had not relied upon that of our leaders, we should have found out long ago the hollowness of this teaching. We have often been told that the Hindus are disloyal subjects because they dare question the infallibility of the Government. We, Mahomedans, should have nothing to do with them. Would to God that we could only see what we have gained by our policy and what the Hindus have attained by theirs! Whatever the Government may say of our leaders we cannot dissociate ourselves from the Hindus. For good or for evil we are indissolubly bound together. We are the sons of the same motherland. Our political interests are identical with those of the Hindus. In religious matters our interest may be the same as those of the Chinese or Zanzibar Mahomedans but in purely political matters we are in the same boat with our Hindu and Christian countrymen. Yet the perversity of our leaders has made us so blind as not to appreciate this plain truth.

We refrained from co-operating with the Hindus in the Congress movement twenty years ago, having been tempted by offers of Government appointments,

But have we realised what has happened to us since then? Whereas we have gone down lower and lower, the Hindus have made steady progress. The English people, whatever they may be, are not wanting in appreciation. They respect the Hindus for their fearless criticism, and despising us at heart for our sycophancy and political cowardice, make use of us for political purposes. We were always deluded with the idea that if we kept ourselves aloof from all political movements we should be in the good graces of the Government and monopolise Government posts. But have we done so? In the High Court of Calcutta there are three Hindu Judges but not a single Mahomedan Judge! Was there no Mahomedan lawyer in Calcutta competent enough to occupy a seat on the High Court bench? Supposing there was not, the Government, if it wanted to encourage the Mahomedans, could have imported one from the Lahore or Allahabad Bar. But has it done so?

In other departments, too, Mahomedan claims are overlooked simply because the so-called leaders will not exert themselves for fear of offending the authorities and because there is no unity among the Mamomedans and there is no such thing as Mahomedan public opinion. This ought to convince us that if we want to be respected by others, if we wish to have our voice heard and influence felt, we must give up the doctrine that has been preached to us in season and out of season. We must think for ourselves, we must exercise our own judgment in matters that affect the welfare of the whole community. Take for instance the Partition question and the Swadeshi movement. Some of the Mahomedans have been told that the Partition is for the benefit of the Mahomedans because a lot of Mahomedans will get appointments. The cause of the downfall of the Mahomedans

has been due to always looking after their individual interests at the expense of the interests of the whole community. Some of them will get Government posts, so they must support the Partition, no matter what happens to the interests of the dumb millions of their community. If they reflected for a moment on the reason why the Province had been partitioned, if they weighed the advantages and disadvantages that will accrue to the people on account of the Partition, they would have co-operated with Hindus and the other Mahomedans in opposing the Partition. It is one man amongst us who has been proclaiming from the housetop that the Partition is a boon to the Mahomedans. Of course it has been a boon to him; whether it will be a boon to the Mahomedan community time will show. For the support given to the Partition by his followers, Sir Bampfylde has given them some Sub-Inspectorships and promised to provide the Mahomedans with other appointments. In my opinion, the favour thus shown to the Mahomedans will do them more harm than good in the long run. The showing of favour in this way is nothing more than mere make-believe on the part of the Government. It is to keep the Mahomedans separate from the Hindus, but it is a death-blow to the idea of self-help and self-reliance without which the Mahomedans cannot ameliorate their condition. The Mahomedans always thought that they were the favourites of the Government and whether they paid much attention to education or not they would be provided for. How sadly mistaken they have been they know now to their cost. About the Swadeshi movement, too, some Mahomedans have been told by the so-called leaders that it is a Hindu movement and therefore disloyal. Again I say that without taking

the statement of their leaders as gospel truth, if they were to think for themselves they would see that their salvation more than that of the Hindus lies in this movement. Can any Mahomedan in his senses deny that the impetus given by this *Swadeshi* movement to the weaving industry of the country is benefiting the Mahomedan weavers, all over the country? Can anybody deny that many poor Mahomedan families in Calcutta who used to starve before, are comfortably maintaining themselves because of the *biri* industry? Hindus, being admittedly more educated than the Mahomedans, can obtain posts more easily than the Mahomedans who have to depend upon trade or manual labour.

Now some people take a lot of coaxing before they are persuaded to believe in the truth of the *Swadeshi* cause; but when the masses will be educated on National lines, when they will understand their own responsibilities and when they will feel that as a nation they will have to play an important part on the stage of the world, then the *Swadeshi* cause will need no preacher, no coaxing, no impetus from without; the impetus will come from within. We must, by education, open the eyes of our people to see and feel our degradation and humiliation and teach them to remember that though we are not treated by our rulers better than the savage races as far as the Government of the country is concerned, we have not always been what we are now. We have had a civilization of our own. Our ancestors were civilized at the time when those of our rulers had not passed the stage of the state of nature. We have a glorious past and we must make our future as glorious. Henceforth, to educate the masses on national lines must be the sacred duty of every educated citizen.

It may be that the Government may not recognize the degrees and certificates of proficiency conferred on the successful candidates by the National Council of Education. If such a contingency does arise, the nation must be prepared to hold out prospects for them. The capitalists must open their purse and engage the services of those trained in the Technical Department, and the zemindars and the mercantile classes employ most extensively those educated in the General Department. The Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education ought to be congratulated on being able to send this year 44 young men to Europe, America and Japan. We hope more will be sent every year. But what will those trained by the National Council of Education or these young men on their return do if the nation will not make use of their services?

Gentlemen, there is a splendid future before us if the nation will only rise to the occasion and do its duty. Gentlemen, we must pay special attention to another great problem that is before us. It is how to get rid of our inordinate craving for Government service. This desire has been the cause of our downfall and degradation, specially of that of my co-religionists. The only ambition of our life is to become Government servants, no matter what it brings to us.

A Bengali clerk, whether Hindu, Mahomedan or Christian, drawing Rs. 20 a month and working 10 or 12 hours a day, is quite proud of his position and boasts of being a Government servant. We have carried it to such excess as to bring on ourselves the ridicule of the people of other parts of India who have prospered in trade. They wonder why we, Bengalis, instead of hankering after Government service, do not make use of our brains in other spheres of life. No wonder we are

called a nation of clerks. As now constituted, what charm is there in Government service, which we cannot enter except through favouritism and influence? The abolition of the system of open competitive tests has put an end to that effective stimulus which had been given to the effort of many young people towards self-improvement by the opening of a career as a reward and an encouragement to intellectual merit alone. Now only those, be they competent or incompetent, who can creep into the good graces of some high official, will be taken into the service. All the higher appointments are a special reserve for the ruling race and cannot be encroached upon by the despised Indians without the prestige of the service being lost. The Indians, however well qualified, are considered fit only to hold subordinate posts and unfit to discharge the duties of higher posts. But experience shows that it is the ill-paid subordinate officers who really do the work of the departments. The intelligent deserving men of the country cannot get posts for which they can draw more than Rs. 700 or Rs. 800 after 25 or 30 years' service. Examinations for all the higher appointments are held in England where very few of our young men can afford to go to compete for them. We have repeatedly prayed the Government to hold Examinations simultaneously in England and India but to no purpose. If our prayer were granted, many of our young men would be eligible for the higher appointments—a prospect which the ruling race could only look upon with dismay. However competent our young men may be, their claims must give way to those of the governing race. Take, for instance, the Indian Educational Service. Some of the Indian Professors, who are in many respects superior to many European Professors, are only in the Provincial Service drawing much less pay than the

European Professors of the Indian Educational Service. Even Prof. J. C. Bose, with a world-wide reputation, was till very recently in the Provincial Service. This kind of injustice is shown in every department of the Government. We are simply to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water for our rulers. In the Public Service of our own country we have to play second fiddle. It is better to deal in *Swadeshi* goods as a small shop-keeper than to seek employment under the Government under such humiliating conditions. We must make up our minds once for all not to be any longer called a nation of clerks. No nation has ever risen by service nor will ever rise. Service deadens the power of initiative and makes slaves of men. To trade then must we turn attention if we want to free ourselves from the shackles of slavery. Even in trade we are unfortunately hampered by the action of some misguided Government underlings. Shop-keepers selling *Swadeshi* goods are often harassed by them. The Government, in spite of its protestations and pretensions as to its being in favour of the *Swadeshi* movement, has taken up a hostile attitude towards the people of the country which has caused dissatisfaction, and unrest all over the province. The authorities, instead of taking our recognised leaders into their confidence, have in their utter helplessness during the last eight or nine months introduced Russian methods of Government by suppressing public meetings, prohibiting religious processions, interfering with the liberty of the Press, and otherwise interfering with the rights and privileges of the people.

This is not the way to conciliate a people who have quite recently suffered an unprecedented calamity and are still in mourning. No Government can be a

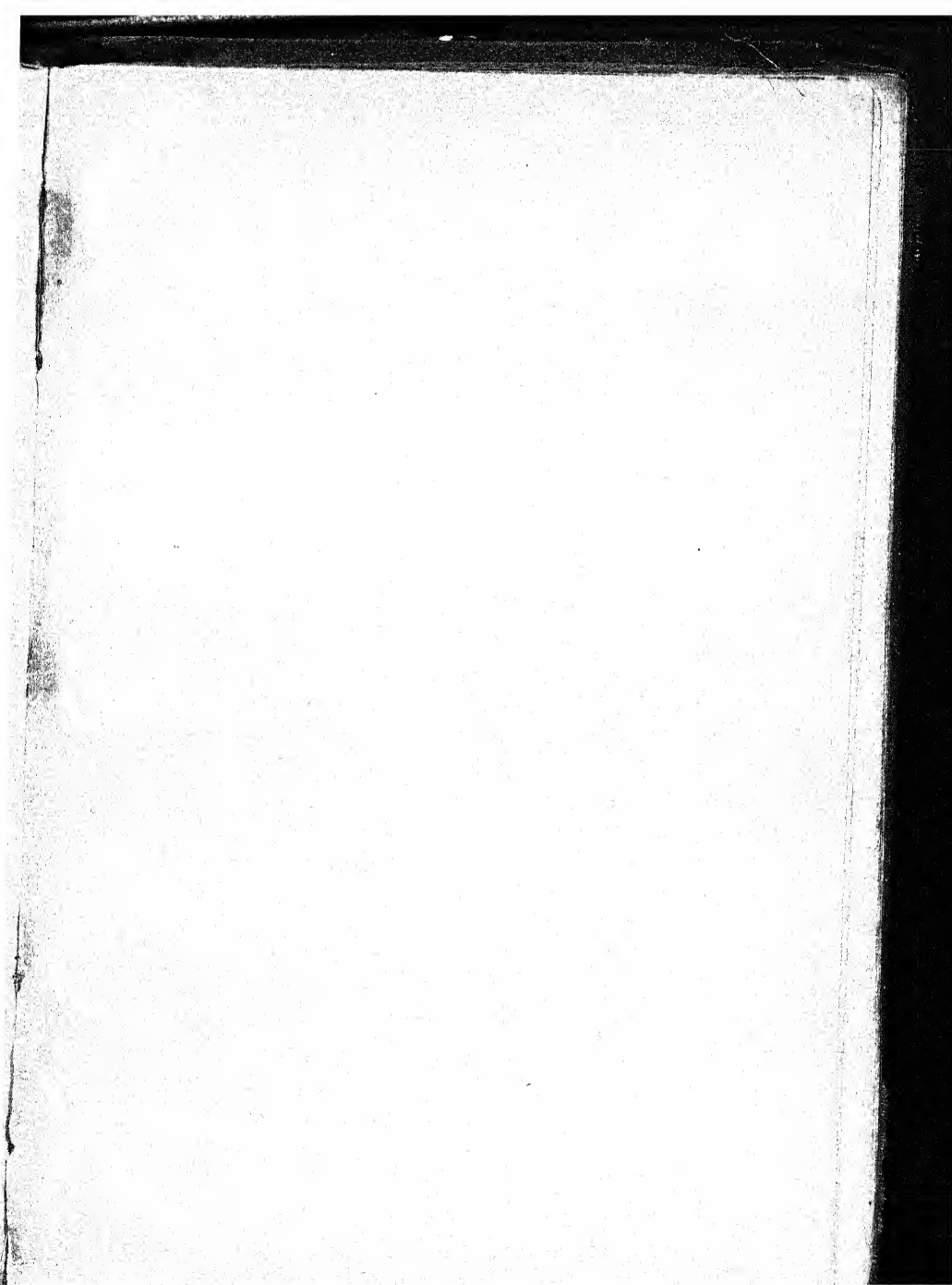
good Government which has not the approval and support of the governed. This attitude will only further widen the breach between the rulers and the ruled.

In conclusion, I wish to say a few words to my Mahomedan countrymen who, by holding themselves aloof from the politics of the country, have been doing harm to themselves as well as the community.

The success of the *Swadeshi* movement all over India will be more beneficial to the Mahomedans than to the Hindus. Yet some Mahomedans will not co-operate with the Hindus to make it a success: why because they are told by their leaders not to do so.

I therefore appeal to my Mahomedan countrymen to give up their indifference to politics and join the Hindus and co-operate with them in all matters concerning the welfare of the common motherland. Unless you are ready to migrate in a body to Arabia, Persia or Turkey, your political interests will ever be the same as those of the people of other denominations in Bengal. The principle "Divide and Rule" is well known to all of us. It is because we are divided that we have made it possible for our rulers to rule over us in the way we are ruled. "United we stand, divided we fall" is an adage which is most applicable to our case. Bengal with a united population, though the Government has done much to disunite them—will withstand any bureaucratic attempts to subjugate body and mind and will successfully resist any menaces or repressions. There is no denying that a cloud rests all over Bengal. It is a dark and heavy cloud and its darkness extends over the feeling of men in all parts of the country. But

if we can only be united, that cloud will be dispelled. The dangers that surround us will vanish and we may yet have the happiness of leaving to our children the heritage of an honourable citizenship in a united and prosperous Bengal.



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